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The
Travels
of
Fa-hsien

H. A. Giles

Cambridge
1923

THE TRAVELS OF FA-HSIEN

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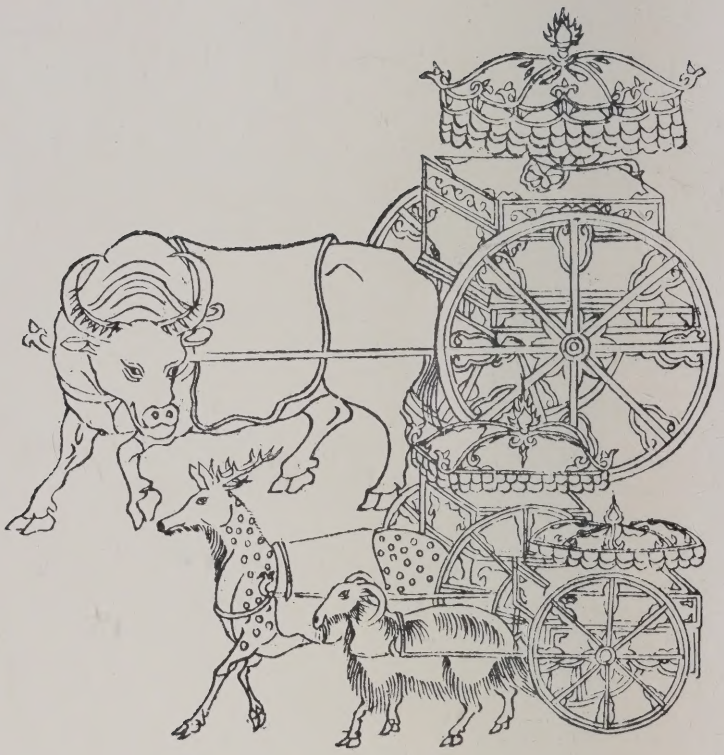

THE THREE VEHICLES

By TING YÜN-P'ÊNG, known as "NAN-YÜ," *circa* A.D. 1560

The Travels of Fa-hsien (399-414 A.D.), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms

Re-translated by

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INTRODUCTION

FROM this little book of travel the unbiased reader may perhaps obtain a furtive glimpse of the grandeur of the Buddhist religion in the early years of the 5th century A.D.

What indeed must have been the cogent influence of that Faith which could impel several of its ministers to undertake, and one to carry through for the Faith's sake, a supremely dangerous expedition, in the glow of which the journeys of St Paul melt into insignificance? For Fa-hsien, the hero of this adventure and the recorder of his own travels, practically walked from Central China across the desert of Gobi, over the Hindu Kush, and through India down to the mouth of the Hoogly, where he took ship and returned by sea, after manifold hairbreadth escapes, to China, bringing with him what he went forth to secure—books of the Buddhist Canon and images of Buddhist deities.

The story of Shâkyamuni Buddha's entry into religious life has often been told; by none better than by Professor Rhys Davids, on whose *Buddhism* the following paragraph is based.

Buddha was the son of a king. In his 29th year an angel appeared to him in four visions—

under the form of a man broken down by age, of a sick man, of a decaying corpse, and of a dignified hermit.

Shocked by these sights, he realized the impermanency of all things; and one night, after gazing in an eternal farewell upon his wife who was sleeping with one hand on the head of their child, he tore himself away, mounted his horse, and accompanied only by his charioteer, went out into the world, a poor and homeless wanderer, to achieve the salvation of mankind.

Enough will be gained from Fa-hsien's work to enable the general reader to complete the picture of Buddha's future career on earth.

The Record itself is packed with interesting incidents. Miracles, without which no supernatural religion seems to have a chance of attracting worshippers, are to be found in abundance. References will be found to the instrumental parts of Buddhism, such as the foot-prints, skull, teeth, spittoon, staff, and alms-bowl of the World-Honoured One; also to cowries, nuns, elephants, free hospitals, barter with devils, Utopian government, prophecy, extreme duration of life, the appearance of a mighty dragon under the form of a small snake, which is precisely what is said to have happened in Tientsin, 1872, to the glorification of the then

Viceroy, Li Hung-chang, etc., etc. There is an ascent to heaven, a temptation by the king of hell, and even an accusation of immorality; but perhaps the most interesting of all is the frequent reference to the Precious Trinity, of which it may be said in passing that "Precious" best translates the Chinese term, and leaves "Blessed" and "Holy" to the Trinities of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches, respectively.

Various religions have at various times adopted a Trinity of three Persons, suitable to the faith expressed by each. The dogma of the Trinity was introduced into Christianity at a comparatively late date. Nothing was heard of it in the early centuries of the Church, and it was first enunciated in detail as a mystery in the so-called Athanasian Creed, of (?) 4th century, A.D. It is not mentioned in either the Old Testament or the New, the proof of which will be found in the audacious forgery of a verse interpolated in the First Epistle of John, ch. v, verse 8:—"For there are three that bear record in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost; and these three are one." Some pious but dishonest monk, distressed by the absence of any allusion in the Bible to the doctrine of the Trinity, was determined to supply the missing dogma at all costs;

and his fraud was successful for centuries, until its spurious character, exposed by Porson, resulted in its disappearance from the Revised Version of 1881.

The above point is interesting in the present connexion only in so far as concerns the respective dates of the Buddhist and Christian Trinities of which the former has been alleged by some to have been derived through the Gnostics from the latter, with a similar contention in the opposite direction.

The Trinity of Buddhism has usually been explained as consisting of (1) Buddha, (2) the Law, or better, the Faith, and (3) the Priesthood, or the Church in the abstract. Chu Hsi, the great Chinese philosopher and historian of the 12th century, declared that the Buddhist Trinity comprised (1) the spiritual body of Buddha, (2) his joyful body, as rewarded for his virtues, and (3) his fleshly body, in which he appeared on earth. He further showed that by exhibiting the Trinity under the form of three images, as the Buddhists of the Greater Vehicle in China do in their temples, which of course is a concession to the unimaginative masses,—the transcendent mystery of the real doctrine of Trinity in Unity is altogether obliterated.

Buddhism, which of all religions has the

greatest number of adherents, became known to the Chinese in the first half of the 3rd century B.C. Its supernaturalism has always proved very attractive to the masses unable to obtain satisfactory spiritual comfort from the materialism of the Confucian literati. The beneficent influence of this religion as a moral factor is undoubted. Its famous prohibition,—"Thou shalt not destroy life"—which is the first of the Ten Commandments, has operated largely in softening the manners of the Chinese and of her less refined Tartar subjects, and in producing what are on the whole gentle and peace-loving communities. The Canon of Buddhism contains no stirring narratives of bloody wars nor of deeds of merciless vengeance. Many of China's greatest men, rationalists at heart, have yielded to its seductive mysteries and have cultivated lasting friendships with learned Buddhist priests. Ts'ên Ts'an, a poet of the 8th century A.D., ends a short poem on a visit to a Buddhist shrine, as follows:

O thou pure Faith, had I but known thy scope,
The Golden God had long since been my hope!

H. A. GILES

CAMBRIDGE
1923

P.S. Extract from a lecture on "Buddhism," delivered by the Rev. W. E. Soothill, Professor of Chinese in the University of Oxford, September, 1922:

The past service of Buddhism to the world has been very great. It has tamed savage tribes, given unlettered nations their alphabets and literature, introduced art and architecture, developed an extensive and intricate philosophy, and advocated non-resistance and peace. In its Hînayâna form (see p. xv) it has developed the moral character of nations and peoples and brought comfort into the lives of many millions. In its Mahâyâna form (see p. xv) it has influenced the morals and given hope for a future life to hundreds of millions.

The map at the end of this volume is based, by kind permission of the Oxford University Press, on that given in *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms*, by Dr J. Legge, 1886, and has been revised by the Rev. A. C. Moule, M.A., to whom my thanks are also due for several luminous suggestions.

The "Three Vehicles" (see p. xv) is taken from a volume of reproductions of ancient and, at the date of publication, of modern pictures, known as *The Ink-Tablets of the Fan Family*, 1588.

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BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE

THE first translation of the Record was in French; it was begun by Rémusat and finished by Klaproth and Landresse. It was a brilliant performance, considering the difficulty of the text and the date, 1836, at which it was published; but it ran to 424 large 4to pages, mostly consisting of elaborate notes, and of course failed to attract a wide circle of readers. Rémusat arbitrarily divided the text into chapters, and in this respect he was followed by Beal and Legge; but in the original the narrative is continuous, without break and without punctuation. Its style is terse and difficult, but not without a charm of its own.

In 1869, the Rev. S. Beal produced an English translation, really of Rémusat's work, in which he reproduced all Rémusat's mistakes while adding many more of his own.

In 1877, I published a new translation, correcting many of Beal's glaring mistakes, but leaving behind some of my own.

In 1886, Dr Legge published a fresh translation, in which he borrowed largely, without acknowledgment, from my corrections of Beal, and managed to contribute not a few mistakes of his own.

In the present translation, which has been closely revised, I have had the advantage of geo-

graphical identifications by Chavannes, Kurita, and Stein. While giving, so far as possible, a strictly literal and accurate rendering, I have attempted at the same time to make the narrative appeal to the general reader by the omission of foot-notes which most people dislike, and of references to authorities which are usually altogether ignored. Thus, it is hoped that there will be no check to the enjoyment of the reader as he travels along with Fa-hsien on his stupendous journey.

TERMS USED BY FA-HSIEN

BÔDHISATVA.—A saint who has only one more earthly state to pass through before becoming a Buddha.

EIGHT LIBERATIONS.—Eight processes through which the mind frees itself from all subjective and objective trammels.

FOOT (Chinese).—Originally the length of 100 millet-seeds; now, 14·1 inches English.

GREATER VEHICLE (*mahâyâna*).—A later and more exoteric form of Buddhism, in which Buddha appears on earth as a Saviour and the mystery of the Trinity is expressed by images of the three Persons.

KUAN YIN.—A male deity in India, and also in China down to the beginning of the 12th century, after which the worship was transferred to a Chinese goddess with a child.

LESSER VEHICLE (*hînayâna*).—The earliest and esoteric form of Buddhism, by which sinners are conveyed to salvation. [There is a Middle Vehicle, not mentioned separately by Fa-hsien.]

LI.—One-third of a mile, with local variations according to the difficulty of the route.

LO-HAN (*Arhan* or *Arhat*).—A Buddhist saint of high standing, destined, some say, to become a Buddha.

PAGODA.—This well-known term covers also *stûpa*, which more strictly is a monument over relics of Buddha. The Chinese term is the same throughout.

SEVEN PRECIOSITIES.—Gold, silver, lapis lazuli, crystal, ruby, emerald, coral.

SHAMAN.—A Buddhist ascetic or priest.

TEN COMMANDMENTS:

Thou shalt not take life.
Thou shalt not steal.
Thou shalt not commit adultery.
Thou shalt not lie.
Thou shalt not drink wine.
Thou shalt not sit on a grand couch.
Thou shalt not wear an ornamental dress.
Thou shalt not sing, dance, nor witness plays.
Thou shalt not wear jewels.
Thou shalt not eat except at fixed hours.

[Laymen are bound by the first five only.]

THREE REFUGES.—The Three Persons of the Buddhist Trinity. The Buddhist Creed:

I take my refuge in Buddha,
I take my refuge in the Faith,
I take my refuge in the Church.

YÔJANA.—Originally a yoking of oxen, a day's march; anything from 5 to 10 miles, according to the locality and the difficulty of the route.

TRAVELS OF FA-HSIEN

RECORD
OF THE BUDDHISTIC KINGDOMS

FORMERLY, when Fa-hsien was at Ch'ang-an, he was distressed by the imperfect state of the Buddhist "Disciplines;" and accordingly, in the second year of the period *Hung-shih*, the *chi-hai* year of the cycle (A.D. 399), he entered into an agreement with Hui-ching, Tao-chêng, Hui-ying, Hui-wei and others to go together to India and try to obtain these "Rules."

They started from Ch'ang-an, crossed the Lung country (parts of Shensi and Kansuh), and arrived at the State (of the Western Ch'ins) ruled by Ch'ien Kuei; there they went into summer retreat. When this was over, they journeyed on to the State (of the Southern Liangs) ruled by Nou T'an; and crossing the Yang-lou range, they arrived at the market-town of Chang-yeh (in Kansuh). Chang-yeh was in a condition of great political unrest, and roads were impassable; so the king, anxious about their safety, declared himself their "religious protector" and kept them with him there.

Here they fell in with Chih-yen, Hui-chien, Sêng-shao, Pao-yün, Sêng-ching and others;

and rejoicing to find their errands to be the same, they went into summer retreat together. When this was over, they journeyed on again and reached Tun-huang (at the end of the Great Wall), where the frontier is held by the military for a distance of eighty *li* from east to west, and forty *li* from north to south. Having stayed there together for more than a month, Fa-hsien and others, five in all, pushed on ahead in the train of an envoy and were once again separated from Pao-yün and his colleagues.

The Governor of Tun-huang, by name Li Hao, gave them all necessaries for crossing the desert of Gobi. In this desert there are a great many evil spirits and also hot winds; those who encounter them perish to a man. There are neither birds above nor beasts below. Gazing on all sides as far as the eye can reach in order to mark the track, no guidance is to be obtained save from the rotting bones of dead men, which point the way.

After travelling for seventeen days, about one thousand five hundred *li*, the party arrived at the country of Shan-shan (south of Lop-Nor). The land is rugged and barren. The clothes of the common people are coarse, like those of the Chinese, the only difference being that the former use felt and serge. The king of this country has received the Faith, and there may be some four thousand and more priests, all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle. The common people of these

countries, as well as the Shamans, practise the religion of India, with certain modifications of refinement and coarseness.

From this point travelling westwards, the nations that one passes through are all similar in this respect, except that the Tartar dialects spoken by them differ one from another. At the same time, all those who have "left the family" (priests and novices) study Indian books and the Indian spoken language.

After staying here for a month, the party again travelled north-west for fifteen days and reached the country of Kara-shahr. The priests of this country also number over four thousand, all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle. Religious observances are strictly attended to; and when Shamans from China come here, they find themselves unprepared for the rites of these priests. Fa-hsien having got Fu Hsing-t'ang (= Steward), whose style was Kung-sun, to act on his behalf, remained for two months and some days, after which he was rejoined by Pao-yün and the others. They all agreed that the people of Kara-shahr did not cultivate politeness nor duty to one's neighbour, and were mean in their treatment of strangers; consequently Chih-yen, Hui-chien, and Hui-wei now went back towards Turfan in order to obtain funds for the journey, while Fa-hsien and the rest, being provided with the necessary means by Fu Kung-sun, were able to proceed forthwith on their journey towards the south-west.

Along the route they found the country uninhabited; the difficulty of crossing rivers was very great; and the hardships they went through were beyond all comparison. After being on the road a month and five days they succeeded in reaching Khotan.

This country is prosperous and happy; its people are well-to-do; they have all received the Faith, and find their amusement in religious music. The priests number several tens of thousands, most of them belonging to the Greater Vehicle. They all obtain their food from a common stock. The people live scattered about; and before the door of every house they build small pagodas, the smallest of which would be about twenty feet in height. They prepare rooms for travelling priests, and place them at the disposal of priests who are their guests, together with anything else they may want. The ruler of the country lodged Fa-hsien and his companions comfortably in a monastery, called Gomati, which belonged to the Greater Vehicle. At the sound of a gong, three thousand priests assemble to eat. When they enter the refectory, their demeanour is grave and ceremonious; they sit down in regular order; they all keep silence; they make no clatter with their bowls, etc.; and for the attendants to serve more food, they do not call out to them, but only make signs with their hands. Hui-ching, Tao-chêng, and Hui-ta, started in advance towards the country of Kâsh-

gar; but Fa-hsien and the others, wishing to see the processions of images, stayed on for three months.

In this country there are fourteen large monasteries, without counting the smaller ones. Beginning on the first day of the fourth moon, the main thoroughfares inside the city are swept and watered, and the side-streets are decorated. Over the city gate they stretch a large awning with all kinds of ornamentation, under which the king and queen and Court ladies take their places. The priests of the Gomati monastery belong to the Greater Vehicle, which is deeply venerated by the king; and they take the first place in the procession. At a distance of three or four *li* from the city, a four-wheeled image-car is made, over thirty feet in height, looking like a movable "Hall of Buddha," and adorned with the seven preciosities, with streaming pennants and embroidered canopies. The image of Buddha is placed in the middle of the car, with two attendant Bôdhisatvas and dêvas (Brahman demi-gods) following behind. These are all beautifully carved in gold and silver and are suspended in the air. When the images are one hundred paces from the city gate, the king takes off his cap of State and puts on new clothes; walking barefoot and holding flowers and incense in his hands, with attendants on each side, he proceeds out of the gate. On meeting the images, he bows his head down to the ground, scatters the flowers

and burns the incense. When the images enter the city, the queen and Court ladies who are on the top of the gate scatter far and wide all kinds of flowers which flutter down and thus the splendour of decoration is offered up complete. The cars are all different; each monastery has a day for its own procession, beginning on the first of the fourth moon and lasting until the fourteenth when the processions end and the king and queen go back to the palace.

Seven or eight *li* to the west of this city, there is a monastery called the King's New Monastery. It took eighty years to build and the reigns of three kings before it was completed. It is about two hundred and fifty feet in height, ornamentally carved and overlaid with gold and silver, suitably finished with all the seven preciosities. Behind the pagoda there is a Hall of Buddha which is most splendidly decorated. Its beams, pillars, folding doors, and windows, are all gilt. Besides this, there are apartments for priests, also beautifully and fitly decorated, beyond expression in words. The kings of the six countries to the east of the Bolor-Tagh range make large offerings of whatsoever most valuable things they may have, keeping few for their own personal use.

The processions of the fourth moon being over, one of the party, Sêng-shao, set out with a Tartar Buddhist towards Kashmir. Fa-hsien and the others went on to Karghalik, which they

reached after a journey of twenty-five days. The king of this country is devoted to the Faith; and there are more than one thousand priests, mostly belonging to the Greater Vehicle.

After stopping here for fifteen days, the party went south for four days, and entering upon the Bolor-Tagh range, arrived at the country of Tâsh-Kurghân, where they went into retreat.

When this retreat was finished, they journeyed on for twenty-five days and reached the country of Kâshgar, where they rejoined Hui-ching and his party. The king of this country was holding the *pancha parishad*, which is called in Chinese "the great quinquennial assembly." To this he invites Shamans from all quarters, and these collect together like clouds. The place where the priests are to sit is splendidly adorned beforehand with streaming pennants and canopies of silk; silk, embroidered with lotus-flowers in gold and silver, is also laid over the backs of the seats. When all is in order, the king and his ministers make their offerings according to rite. The assembly may last for one, two, or three months, and is generally held in the spring. The king, when the assembly is over, further bids his ministers to arrange their offerings for presentation, which ceremony may last for one, two, three, or even five days. When all the offerings have been made, the king takes his own horse, saddles and bridles it himself and causes a distinguished official to ride it. Then, with some

white felt and all kinds of jewels such as Shamans require, he joins with the body of officials in a vow to hand over these things as alms. As soon as this has been done, the various items are redeemed from the priests with money.

This country is mountainous and cold; and with the exception of wheat, no grain will grow and ripen. When the priests have received their annual (land) tithes, the mornings forthwith become frosty; therefore the king is always urging the priests to get the wheat ripe before pay-day.

This country has a spittoon which belonged to Buddha; it is made of stone and of the same colour as his alms-bowl. There is also one of Buddha's teeth, for which the people have raised a pagoda. There are over one thousand priests, all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle. From the hills eastward, the people wear coarse clothes like the Chinese, the only difference being that the former use felt and serge. The observances of the Faith by the Shamans are varied, and too numerous to be recorded here. This country is in the middle of the Bolor-Tagh range; and from this onwards all plants, trees, and fruits are different from those of China, with the exception of the bamboo, pomegranate, and sugar-cane.

From this point travelling westwards towards northern India, the pilgrims after a journey of one month succeeded in crossing the Bolor-Tagh range. On these mountains there is snow in winter and summer alike. There are also veno-

mous dragons, which, if provoked, spit forth poisonous winds, rain, snow, sand, and stones. Of those who encounter these dangers not one in ten thousand escapes. The people of that part are called men of the Snow Mountains.

On passing this range the travellers were in northern India. Just at the frontier there is a small country, called Darêl, where also there are many priests, all of the Lesser Vehicle. In this country there was formerly a Lo-han who, using his divine power, carried a clever artisan up to the Tushita heavens to observe the height, complexion, and features of the Bôdhisatva Mâitrêya, so that when he came down he might carve an image of him in wood. Altogether he made three journeys for observation and afterwards executed an image eighty feet in height, the folded legs of which measured eight feet across. On fast-days it always shines with a brilliant light. The kings of near countries vie with one another in their offerings to it. From of old until now, it has been on view in this place.

Keeping to the range, the party journeyed on in a south-westerly direction for fifteen days over a difficult, precipitous, and dangerous road, the side of the mountain being like a stone wall ten thousand feet in height. On nearing the edge, the eye becomes confused; and wishing to advance, the foot finds no resting-place. Below there is a river, named Indus. The men of former times had cut away the rock to make

a way down, and had placed ladders on the side of the rock. There are seven hundred rock-steps in all; and when these and the ladders have been negotiated, the river is crossed by a suspension bridge of ropes. The two banks of the river are somewhat less than eighty paces apart. According to the "Records of the Nine Interpreters," neither Chang Ch'ien nor Kan Ying of the Han dynasty reached this point. Various priests had asked Fa-hsien if he knew when Buddhism first went eastward; to which Fa-hsien had replied, "When I enquired of the people of those parts, they all said that according to an old tradition Shamans from India began to bring the Sûtras and Disciplines across this river from the date of setting up the image of Mâitrêya Bôdhisatva." This image was put up about three hundred years after the Nirvâna of Buddha, which occurred during the reign of king P'ing of the Chou dynasty (770–719 B.C.); hence it was said that the Great Doctrine began to spread abroad from the setting up of the image, and that but for our ghostly Master, Mâitrêya, who is to succeed Shâkyamuni, who could have caused the Precious Trinity to be preached afar and foreigners to become acquainted with the Faith? Thus we know that the revelation of these mysteries was clearly not the work of man, and that the dream of the emperor, Ming Ti of the Han dynasty, was not without foundation.

Having crossed the river, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Udyâna, which lies due north of India. The language of Central India is universally used here, Central India being what they call the "Middle Kingdom." The clothes and food of the people are also very like those of our Middle Kingdom, and the religion of Buddha is extremely flourishing. They call the places where the priests live or temporarily lodge "Gardens for Assembly" or monasteries. There are altogether five hundred of them, all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle. If any wandering mendicant-priests arrive, they are found in everything for three days, after which they are told to shift for themselves. Tradition says that when Buddha came to Northern India he visited this country, and left behind him a foot-print. The foot-print appears to be long or short according to the faith in each particular person, and such remains the case up to the present day. The stone too on which Buddha dried his clothes, and the spot where he converted the wicked dragon may also still be seen. The stone is fourteen feet in height by over twenty in breadth, and one side of it is smooth. Hui-ching, Tao-chêng, and Hui-ta, now went on ahead towards "Buddha's Shadow" in the country of Nagara-hâra. Fa-hsien and the others remained in this country for their summer retreat; and when that was over, they went down southwards to the country south of Udyâna.

In this country the religion of Buddha is also very flourishing. Of old, Indra, God of Heaven, in order to try the Bôdhisatva (as Buddha then was), caused the appearance of a kite pursuing a dove. The Bôdhisatva cut off a piece of his flesh to ransom the dove; and when he had perfected his faith and become the Buddha, wandering hither with his disciples, he said, "This is the spot where I cut off my flesh to ransom a dove." Thus the people of the country came to know it, and erected at the place a pagoda ornamented with both gold and silver.

From this point descending eastward for five days, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Gandhâra, which was governed by Fa-i, the son of king Asôka. It was here that Buddha, when a Bôdhisatva, sacrificed his eyes for a fellow-creature; and it was here too that a pagoda was erected, ornamented with both gold and silver. The people of the country belong mostly to the Lesser Vehicle.

At a distance of a seven days' journey eastward from this, there is a country named Takshasila, which in Chinese means "cutting off the head." When Buddha was a Bôdhisatva, it was here that he sacrificed his head for a fellow-creature; hence the name. After again travelling eastward for two days, the pilgrims arrived at the place where he gave his body to feed a hungry tiger. At both the above spots great pagodas were built, adorned with all the preciosities combined.

The kings, ministers, and people of the neighbouring countries vie with one another in making offerings, scattering flowers, and lighting lamps, continuously without intermission. Together with the above-mentioned two pagodas, the people of the district call them the Four Great Pagodas.

Travelling from Gandhâra southward for seven days, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Peshâwur. Formerly, when Buddha was visiting this country in company with ten of his disciples, he said to Ânanda, "When I have passed away, a king of this country, by name Kanishka, will raise a pagoda at this spot." Subsequently, when king Kanishka came into the world and was travelling about to see things, Indra, God of Heaven, wishing to originate in him the idea, caused the appearance of a little herd-boy building a pagoda in the middle of the road. "What are you making there?" said the king. "I am building a pagoda for Buddha," replied the boy. "Splendid!" cried the king; and he forthwith built a pagoda, over four hundred feet high and ornamented with all the preciosities combined, over the pagoda built by the little boy. Of all the pagodas and temples seen by the pilgrims, not one could compare with this in grandeur and dignity; and tradition says that of the various pagodas in the inhabited world this one takes the highest rank.

When the king had finished his pagoda, the

little boy's pagoda came out from the south side of the great pagoda to over three feet in height.

Buddha's alms-bowl being in this country, the king of the Ephthalites formerly got together a large army and attacked, with a view to carrying off the bowl. When he had conquered the country, as he himself was an ardent believer in the religion of Buddha, he wished to take possession of the bowl, and therefore began to make offerings. When he had made his offerings to the Precious Trinity, he richly decorated a huge elephant and placed the bowl on its back. Thereupon the elephant promptly collapsed and was unable to move. A four-wheeled cart was then made to convey the bowl, and a team of eight elephants were harnessed to it. When these, too, were unable to stir, the king knew that his hour for possession of the bowl had not yet come. Filled with shame and regret he built a pagoda on the spot and also a monastery, leaving a garrison to guard the bowl and making all kinds of offerings. There are here perhaps over seven hundred priests; and when it is just on noon, they bring out the bowl and, together with the people, present all kinds of offerings. They then eat their midday meal; and in the evening, at the hour for vespers, they replace the bowl as before. It holds perhaps over two pecks, and is of several colours, chiefly black. The four joinings (of the four bowls fused by Buddha into one) are clearly distinguishable. It is about

one-fifth of an inch thick, of transparent brilliancy and of a glossy lustre. Poor people throw in a few flowers, and it is full; very rich people wishing to make offering of a large quantity of flowers, may throw in a hundred or a thousand or ten thousand bushels, without ever filling it.

Pao-yün and Sêng-ching merely made their offerings and went back home; Hui-ching, Hui-ta, and Tao-chêng, had previously gone on to the country of Nagarahâra to present offerings before the shadow, tooth, and skull-bone of Buddha. Hui-ying now fell ill, and Tao-chêng remained to nurse him; Hui-ta went back alone to Peshâwur, where he met the others; and then Hui-ta, Pao-yün, and Sêng-ching, returned to China. Hui-ying fulfilled his destiny at the Buddha-Bowl Monastery, and Fa-hsien went on alone towards the place of Buddha's skull-bone.

Travelling westward sixteen yôjanas, Fa-hsien reached the frontier of Nagarahâra. In the city of Hiro (= bone; now Hidda) there is a shrine which contains Buddha's skull-bone, entirely covered with gold-leaf and ornamented with the seven preciosities. The king of the country deeply venerates this skull-bone; and fearing lest it should be stolen, has appointed eight men of the leading families in the kingdom to hold each of them a seal, with which to seal and guard the shrine and bone. In the early morning, when the eight have all arrived, and each one has inspected his own seal, they open the door;

they next wash their hands in scented water, and then bring out the skull-bone which they place on a high altar outside the shrine, resting it on a round block of the seven preciosities and covering it with a bell made of strass, both richly studded with pearls and precious stones. The bone is of a yellowish white colour, oval in shape, with a length of four inches, and a convex upper side. Every day, when the bone has been brought out, those in charge of the shrine mount to a lofty upper storey, beat a big drum, blow a conch and clash copper cymbals. The king, on hearing the sound, forthwith proceeds to the shrine and makes offerings of flowers and incense; after which, he and his attendants in turn bend in adoration and depart, having entered by the east gate and leaving by the west gate. Every morning the king makes offerings and worships in this manner, afterwards transacting affairs of State. The elders of the merchant class also first make offerings and then attend to their private affairs. The programme is every day the same, without any remissness; and when all the offerings have been made, the skull-bone is put back in the shrine, in which there is a pagoda of self-liberation from earthly trammels, which can be opened and closed, made of the seven preciosities and over five feet in height, to contain it. In front of the gate to the shrine there will be found, regularly every morning, sellers of flowers and incense, so that

all who wish to make offerings may buy of all kinds. The kings of the countries round about also regularly send envoys to make offerings. The shrine stands in a square of forty paces in extent. Though the heavens should quake and the earth gape, this spot would not move.

From this point travelling one yôjana to the north, Fa-hsien arrived at the capital of Nagarahâra, where (Buddha, then a) Bôdhisatva bought with silver money some five-stalked flowers for an offering to Dîpânkara Buddha (his twenty-fourth predecessor). Here, too, in this city there is a Buddha-Tooth pagoda, offerings being made in the same way as for the skull-bone. One yôjana to the north-east of the city brought Fa-hsien to the mouth of a valley where there is a Buddha's pewter-topped staff; and there too a shrine has been raised at which offerings are presented. The staff is made of sandal-wood from the (fabulous) Bull's-head mountain, and is over sixteen or seventeen feet in length. It is kept in a wooden sheath, from which a hundred or a thousand men would try to draw it in vain.

Entering the valley and travelling west for four days, Fa-hsien reached a shrine where one of Buddha's robes is the object of worship. When there is a great drought in this country, the officials gather together, bring out the robe, pray, and make offerings; rain then falls in great abundance.

Half a yôjana to the south of the capital of

Nagarahâra there is a cave. It is on the south-west face of the Po mountain. Buddha left his shadow on the rock inside. Looking at it from a distance of ten paces or so, it is like Buddha's actual self, with his golden complexion, his thirty-two greater and eighty lesser characteristic marks, all brightly visible. The nearer one goes, the more indistinct it becomes, appearing as if it were really He. The kings of the various countries round about have sent skilful artists to sketch it, but they have not been able to do so. The people of the country have a tradition which says, "A thousand Buddhas are all to leave their shadows here."

A hundred or so paces to the west of the shadow, Buddha, when here, shaved his head and cut his nails, and himself with the help of his disciples built a pagoda seventy to eighty feet in height, as a model for pagodas in future. It exists to this day, and by its side there is a monastery in which there are over seven hundred priests. In this place there is a pagoda in honour of the Lo-han and Buddhist saints, of whom nearly a thousand have dwelt here.

In the second moon of winter (*q.d.* 11th moon), Fa-hsien and his companions, three in all, went southward across the Little Snowy Mountains (Safed Koh), which retain the snow, summer and winter alike. On the northern side which is in the shade, it is frightfully cold; and when a gale gets up, it makes one shut the mouth and shiver.

Hui-ching could go no farther; he foamed at the mouth, and said to Fa-hsien, "I too cannot recover; you had better go on while you can; do not let us all pass away here";—and so he passed. Gently stroking the corpse, Fa-hsien cried out in lamentation, "Our original design cannot be carried out; it is destiny; what is there to be done?"

Then the pilgrims once more struggled forward; and having got across to the south of the range, they arrived at the country of Afghanistan, where there are approximately three thousand priests belonging to both the Greater and Lesser Vehicles.

Here they kept their summer retreat; and when it was over, they proceeded southward for ten days and reached the country of Falana or Bannu, where also there are over three thousand priests, all belonging to the Lesser Vehicle. From this point they journeyed eastward for three days and again crossed the Indus, on both banks of which the land is flat.

Across the river the pilgrims were in a country called Bhida (in the Panjâb), where the Faith is very flourishing under both the Greater and Lesser Vehicles. When the people of the country saw Buddhist priests from China coming among them, they were much affected and said, "How is it possible for foreigners to know that renunciation of family is the essence of our religion, and to travel afar in search of

the Faith?" Then they gave to the pilgrims whatsoever they required, and treated them in accordance with the Faith.

From this point travelling south-east for somewhat less than eighty yôjanas, the pilgrims passed by many monasteries, containing in all nearly ten thousand priests. Having passed by all these, they arrived at a country called Muttra or Mandor, and went along the river Jumna, on the right and left banks of which there are twenty monasteries with some three thousand priests. The Faith is here becoming very popular; and all the kings of the countries in northern India to the west of the desert are firm believers. When they make offerings to the priests, they take off their caps of State, and together with their families and officials of the Court, wait personally upon the priests at table. At the end of the meal they spread carpets on the ground, and sit down facing the president, not venturing to sit on couches in the presence of priests. The arrangements at these ceremonies of the Faith have been handed down by tradition from the time when Buddha was in the world even unto the present day.

To the south of this, the country is called the Middle Kingdom (of the Brahmans). It has a temperate climate, without frost or snow; and the people are prosperous and happy, without registration or official restrictions. Only those who till the king's land have to pay so much on

the profit they make. Those who want to go away, may go; those who want to stop, may stop. The king in his administration uses no corporal punishments; criminals are merely fined according to the gravity of their offences. Even for a second attempt at rebellion the punishment is only the loss of the right hand. The men of the king's body-guard have all fixed salaries. Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, nor drinks wine, nor eats onions or garlic; but chandâlas are segregated. Chandâla is their name for foul men. These live away from other people; and when they approach a city or market, they beat a piece of wood, in order to distinguish themselves. Then people know who they are and avoid coming into contact with them.

In this country they do not keep pigs or fowls, there are no dealings in cattle, no butchers' shops or distilleries in their market-places. As a medium of exchange they use cowries. Only the chandâlas go hunting and deal in flesh.

From the date of Buddha's disappearance from the world, the kings, elders, and gentry of the countries round about, built shrines for making offerings to the priests, and gave them land, houses, gardens, with men and bullocks for cultivation. Binding title-deeds were written out, and subsequent kings have handed these down one to another without daring to disregard them, in unbroken succession to this day.

Rooms, with beds and mattresses, food, and clothes, are provided for resident and travelling priests, without fail; and this is the same in all places. The priests occupy themselves with benevolent ministrations, and with chanting liturgies; or they sit in meditation. When travelling priests arrive, the old resident priests go out to welcome them and carry for them their clothes and alms-bowls, giving them water for washing and oil for anointing their feet, as well as the liquid food allowed out of hours. By and by, when the travellers have rested, the priests ask them how long they have been priests and what is their standing; and then each traveller is provided with a room and bedroom requisites, in accordance with the rules of the Faith.

In places where priests reside, pagodas are built in honour of Sâriputra, Mugalan, and Ânanda (Buddhas to come), and also in honour of the Abhidharma, the Vinaya, and the Sûtras (divisions of the Buddhist Canon). A month after the annual retreat, the more pious families organize a subscription to make offerings to the priests, and prepare for them the liquid food allowed out of hours. The priests arrange a great assembly and expound the Faith. When this is over, offerings are made at the pagoda of Sâriputra of all kinds of incense and flowers, and lamps are kept burning all night, with a band of musicians playing. Sâriputra was originally a Brahman. On one occasion when he visited

Buddha, he begged to enter the priesthood, as also did the great Mogalan and the great Kâsyapa.

Nuns mostly make offerings at the pagoda of Ânanda, because it was he who begged the World-Honoured One to allow women to become nuns. Novices of both sexes chiefly make their offerings to Râhula (son of Buddha). Teachers of the Abhidharma make their offerings in honour thereof, and teachers of the Vinaya in honour of the Vinaya; there being one such function every year, and each denomination having its own particular day. The followers of the Greater Vehicle make offerings in honour of Abstract Wisdom, of Manjusri (the God of Wisdom), of Kuan Yin (at that date Avalôkitêswara), and others. When the priests have received their annual tithes, the elders, gentry, Brahmans and others, bring, each one, various articles of clothing and things of which Shamans stand in need, and distribute them among the priests, who also make presents to one another. Ever since the Nirvâna of Buddha these regulations of dignified ceremonial for the guidance of the holy brotherhood have been handed down without interruption.

From the ford over the Indus to southern India, down to the southern sea, a distance of forty to fifty thousand *li*, the country is all level; there are no big mountain streams, but only small rivers.

From this point eighteen yôjanas to the south-east, there is a country called Sankisa (Kapitha). It was there that Buddha came down from heaven after a stay of three months spent in expounding the Faith to his mother. Buddha had ascended by virtue of his divine power, not a single one of his disciples being allowed to know. Seven days before the time had expired, he put forth his spiritual power of locomotion; and Aniruddha (Buddha's cousin) with his divine eye descrying the World-Honoured One afar off, said to the venerable Mugalan, "Do you go and salute the World-Honoured One." So Mugalan went, and prostrated himself at the feet of Buddha, and offered his dutiful salutations. When these were over, Buddha said, "Mugalan, seven days hence I shall descend to the world." Mugalan then returned; and because at that time the great kings, officials and people of the eight kingdoms had not seen Buddha for a long period and thirsted for a sight of him, they collected like clouds in this country to await the arrival of the World-Honoured One.

A nun, named Blue Lotus, communed with her own heart, as follows: "To-day, kings, ministers, and people, are all to go out to meet Buddha. I am a woman; how can I manage to be the first to see him?" Buddha thereupon by the exercise of his spiritual power of locomotion changed her into a holy Chakravarti (turn the wheel of the Faith) king, and placed

her so that she might be the very first to salute him.

When Buddha was about to come down from heaven to earth, he produced by a miracle three flights of jewelled steps, and He himself came down the middle flight, which was made of the seven preciosities. Brahma also produced a flight of silver steps to the right, where he was in attendance with a white fly-brush in his hand. The God of Heaven, Indra, produced a flight of copper steps to the left, where he was in attendance with an umbrella of the seven preciosities in his hand. Countless hosts of dêvas followed Buddha down; and when He reached the earth, the three flights disappeared into the ground, except seven steps which remained. In later days, king Asôka, wishing to know where these last ended, caused men to dig down and find out. They got down as far as the Yellow Spring (the confines of the next world), still without reaching the base. The king then became a more devout believer than ever, and built a shrine over the steps, placing on the middle flight a full-length image of Buddha, sixteen feet in height. Behind the shrine he raised a stone column sixty feet in height; upon the top he placed a lion, and within the column, at the four sides, images of Buddha, brilliantly transparent and as unstained as strass. Some heretical teachers contended for this spot with the Shamans; and the latter were getting the

worst of the argument, when both sides agreed to the following solemn statement: "If right of residence in this place belongs to the Shamans, there should now happen some miraculous sign." No sooner had this been proclaimed than the lion at the top of the column roared loudly in attestation; upon which the heretics were sore afraid, and yielding, retired.

Because Buddha had eaten divine food for three months, his body emitted a divine fragrance, unlike that of mortals, so he at once took a bath; and on the spot where he did so, a bath-house, which is still in existence, was subsequently built. Also, on the spot where the nun, Blue Lotus, was the first to salute him, a pagoda has recently been raised. At places where Buddha, when in the world, cut his hair and nails, pagodas have been erected; so, too, on all the spots where the three former Buddhas, as well as Shâkyamuni himself, had sat down, or at places where they had walked in meditation, or where images of Buddha have been made, all the above being still in existence. At the spot where Indra, God of heaven, and Brahma, king of heaven, followed Buddha down to earth, a pagoda has also been raised.

Counting priests and nuns, there are here about one thousand, all of whom obtain their food from a common stock and belong, some to the Greater, and some to the Lesser Vehicle. Where they live, there is a white-eared dragon

which acts as religious protector to the priests by making the land fertile, causing rain to fall in due season, and warding off calamities, so that the priests may dwell in peace. Out of gratitude for such kindness, the priests have built a shrine in honour of the dragon and have spread a place for the dragon to lie down. Further, they have arranged eucharistic food-offerings for the dragon, and every day they select three members of the fraternity to take their meals in the dragon's shrine. At the end of each annual retreat, the dragon forthwith changes its form to that of a small snake with white edges to its ears; and as soon as the priests are aware of this, they fill a copper bowl with cream and place the dragon in it. They then take it round from the highest seat to the lowest, during which it appears as if bowing. When it has gone all round, it resumes its (invisible dragon) form. Every year it comes out once. This country is very productive, and the people are flourishing and happy beyond compare. When men of other nations come, care is taken of all of them and they are provided with what they require.

Fifty yôjanas to the north of the above monastery there is a monastery called Fire Domain, which is the name of an evil spirit. Buddha himself converted this evil spirit, and posterity built a shrine on the spot. When the shrine was being dedicated, a saint took water to wash his hands, and some drops fell upon the ground.

Those drops are still there; and however much they may be brushed away, they always remain visible and cannot be removed.

Here there is another pagoda dedicated to Buddha. A good spirit sweeps and sprinkles it; no human aid has ever been required. The king of a heretic country said, "As thou canst do this, I will bring a great army to quarter here; wilt thou then be able to clear away the increased filth?" When the army came, the spirit raised a mighty wind which blew on it and made the place clean.

Here too there are some hundred small pagodas, which a man might spend a whole day in counting without finding out their number. If any one is bent on knowing, the best way is to place a man at the side of each pagoda; and when this is done, let him count the men, and according to the number of men he will know the number of pagodas.

There is a monastery here, with six or seven hundred priests, in which is the place where a saint ate and passed into Nirvâna. The spot where he was cremated is as big as a cart-wheel; and while there is vegetation all around, here nothing will grow. So, too, at the place where he dried his clothes there is no vegetation, the marks left on the ground by the clothes being still to be seen.

Fa-hsien spent his retreat at the Dragon-shrine; and when it was over he travelled seven

yôjanas to the south-east, which brought him to Kanoj, the city of the hump-backed maidens, which is on the banks of the Ganges and where there are two monasteries, both belonging to the Lesser Vehicle.

Six or seven *li* to the west of the city, on the north bank of the river, is the place where Buddha expounded the Faith to his disciples. Tradition says that his themes were "The Bitterness of Impermanency," "Life is but a Bubble," and so on. A pagoda was raised on the spot, and is still to be seen.

Crossing the Ganges and proceeding three yôjanas to the south, Fa-hsien came to a forest called Arijakavana; and here, where Buddha expounded the Faith, walked in meditation, or sat down, pagodas have in each case been built.

From this point going ten yôjanas to the south-east, the pilgrims arrived at the great kingdom of Visâkha (*or* Ajudhya). Outside the south gate of the city, on the eastern side of the road, is the place where Buddha formerly stuck in the ground a piece of his willow chewing-stick (for cleansing the teeth), which forthwith grew up to the height of seven feet, never increasing nor diminishing. Heretics and Brahmans, in their jealousy, at one time cut it down, at another pulled it up and threw it to a distance; but it always came up again as before on the same spot. Here, too, is the place where four Buddhas walked in meditation or sat down,

and where a pagoda has been built, which still exists.

Travelling eight yôjanas to the south of this point, the pilgrims arrived at Sâwathi (Srâvasti), the capital of the kingdom of Kosala. Inside the city the people are few and scattered, amounting in all to about two hundred families. It is the city over which king Prasenajit ruled; and on the site of the old shrine of Great-lover-of-the-Faith (Buddha's aunt), on the site of the well and wall of the elder, Sudatta, and on the spot where an Angulimâlya (fanatic) was converted and at passing was cremated, men of after ages have raised pagodas, all of which are in this city. The heretic Brahmans, growing jealous, wished to destroy them; whereupon the heavens thundered and flashed lightning with splitting crash, so that they were not able to succeed.

Twelve hundred paces outside the south gate of the city, on the western side of the road, the elder, Sudatta, built a shrine, with the door facing east, and on each side a stone pillar; that on the left having at its top the figure of a wheel, and that on the right a similarly placed figure of an ox. The water in the ponds was clear, the trees luxuriant in foliage, with flowers of various hues, truly so beautiful to behold that it was named the Shrine of the Garden of Gold.

When Buddha went up to heaven for ninety days to preach the Faith to his mother, king Prasenajit, longing to see him, caused to be

carved in sandal-wood from the Bull's-head mountain an image of Buddha and placed it where Buddha usually sat. Later on, when Buddha returned to the shrine, the image straightway quitted the seat and came forth to receive him. Buddha cried out, "Return to your seat; after my disappearance you shall be the model for the four classes of those in search of spiritual truth." At this, the image went back to the seat. It was the very first of all such images, and is that which later ages have copied. Buddha then moved to a small shrine on the south side, at a spot about twenty paces away from the image.

The Shrine of the Garden of Gold was originally in seven sections, and the kings of these countries vied with one another in making offerings, hanging up embroidered banners and canopies, scattering flowers, burning incense, lighting lamps to shine from dusk to dawn, day by day without intermission. Now a rat, holding in its mouth a lamp-wick, set fire to the embroidered banners and canopies; and so it came to pass that all the seven sections were entirely destroyed. Kings and people alike were greatly grieved and annoyed, thinking that the sandal-wood image had been burnt. However, four or five days later when they opened the door of a small shrine on the east side, there to their astonishment they beheld the original image. Everybody was greatly rejoiced, and joining

together rebuilt the shrine. When two sections had been completed, the image was moved back to its original position.

Upon the arrival of Fa-hsien and Tao-chêng at the Shrine of the Garden of Gold, remembering that the World-Honoured One had formerly dwelt here for twenty-five years, they grieved that they had been born among outer barbarians (*qua* the Faith), and that of those who, inspired with the same ambition, had travelled with them through the various nations, some had gone home and some had passed away. And now, when they looked upon Buddha's vacant place, their hearts were inexpressibly sad. The priests who lived there came forth and asked Fa-hsien, saying, "From what country do you come?" And when he replied, "From China," the priests sighed and said, "Good indeed! Is it possible that foreigners can come so far as this in search of the Faith?" Then they spoke one to another, saying, "Ever since the Faith has been transmitted by us priests from generation to generation, no Chinese adherents of our Doctrine have been known to arrive here."

Four *li* to the north-west of the shrine there is a grove of trees, which goes by the name of "Sight Regained." There were once five hundred blind men living here, who were dependants of the shrine. Buddha expounded the Faith for their instruction, and they all recovered their sight. The blind men were overjoyed, and

sticking their staves in the ground, made obeisance, with the result that the staves took root and grew up to a large size. The people of that day venerated them and did not venture to cut them down, so that ultimately there was a grove, which has in consequence received the name of "Sight Regained." The priests belonging to the shrine mostly retire thither after their midday meal and sit in meditation.

Six or seven *li* to the north-east, the abbess Vâisâkha built a shrine, and invited Buddha and the priests. The shrine is still there.

The great court-yard of the Shrine of the Garden of Gold has two entrances; one on the east side and the other on the west. This garden is on the spot on which Sudatta, the elder, spread out gold money in order to buy the ground. The shrine is in the middle of it. Buddha spent more time here than anywhere else, expounding the Faith and making converts. At all the places where he walked in meditation or sat down, pagodas have been raised, each with its name inscribed; as, for instance, at the spot where Sundara (a Brahman) committed suicide in order to involve Buddha in shame.

From the eastern entrance of the Garden of Gold, at a distance of seventy paces to the north, and on the west side of the road, there is the place where Buddha argued with heretics from ninety-six schools. The king, his great officers, gentry, and people, all collected like clouds to

listen. At that juncture a heretic woman, named Chanchamana, a prey to jealousy, arranged her clothes in such a manner as to make her appear *enceinte*; and coming into the midst of the priests, she accused Buddha of violating the rules of the Faith. Thereupon Indra, God of Heaven, changed himself into a white rat and bit her girdle in two. Down fell the clothes she had put in front, the earth gaped, and she sank alive into Purgatory.

There is also the place where Dêvadatta, with poisoned nails, tried to injure Buddha and went down alive into Purgatory. At all these spots men of later ages have set up marks for remembrance. Further, at the place where the argument was held, a shrine has been raised, over sixty feet in height, and containing an image of Buddha seated.

On the east side of this road there is an heretical Brahman temple, called "Shadow-covered." It stands opposite to the above-mentioned shrine, on the other side of the avenue of trees, and is also over sixty feet in height. It was called "Shadow-covered" because when the sun is in the west, the shadow of the shrine of the World-Honoured One darkens the temple of the heretical Brahmans; whereas, when the sun is in the east, the shadow of the temple darkens the north and never falls upon the shrine of Buddha. The heretics often sent people to look after their own temple, to sweep and

sprinkle it, to burn incense, light lamps, and make offerings; but next morning the lamps would always be found in the shrine of Buddha. The Brahmans said in their anger, "You Shamans are always taking away our lamps for the worship of your Buddha; but we are not going to stop our worship because of you." On that very night, while personally keeping watch, they saw the Gods they themselves serve, take the lamps, walk three times round the shrine, and then make offering of the lamps to Buddha, after which they suddenly vanished. Thus the Brahmans came to know the greatness of Buddha's divine power, and at once gave up their family ties and entered His priesthood.

Tradition says that near about this time the Shrine of the Garden of Gold was surrounded by ninety-eight monasteries, all inhabited by priests, except one which was vacant.

In this country there are ninety-six schools of heretics, all of which recognize the present state of existence (as real, not illusory). Each school has its own disciples, who also beg their food but do not carry alms-bowls. They further seek salvation by building alongside of out-of-the-way roads houses of charity where shelter, with beds and food and drink, is offered to travellers and to wandering priests passing to and fro; but the time allowed for remaining is different in each case. Dêvadatta (Buddha's deadly enemy), too, has still a number of

priests, who make offerings to the three past Buddhas but not to Shâkyamuni.

Four *li* to the south-east of Srâvasti is the spot where Buddha stood by the road-side when king Virûdhaka was bent on attacking Kapilavastu. A pagoda has been built there. Fifty *li* to the west of the city there is a town, named Tadwa, where Kâsyapa Buddha was born. There where father and son met, and where the latter disappeared from earth, pagodas have been raised; as also over the complete remains of Kâsyapa Tathâgata a great pagoda has been built.

From the city of Srâvasti travelling south-east for twelve yôjanas, the pilgrims reached a town, named Nabhiga, which is the place where Krakuchanda Buddha was born. Where he and his father met, and where he passed away, there is a monastery, and a pagoda has been erected. From this point travelling north somewhat less than a yôjana, they came to the town where Kanakamuni Buddha was born. Where he and his father met, and where he passed away, pagodas have been built.

From this point going east for somewhat less than a yôjana, the pilgrims arrived at the city of Kapilavastu. Therein no king nor people are to be found; it is just like a wilderness, except for priests and some tens of families. On the spot where formerly stood the palace of king Suddhôdana, and where images have been made of the

Heir Apparent (Buddha) and his mother, at the moment when she dreamt that riding on a white elephant He entered her womb; and where, as Heir Apparent, on issuing forth from the east gate of the city, He saw a sick man and turned about his chariot to go home, pagodas have been raised. So, too, at the various places where Asita pointed out the signs of future Buddhaship on the body of the Heir Apparent; where, when with Nanda, Dêvadatta felled the elephant and Buddha threw it away; where Buddha shot an arrow which flew thirty *li* to the south-east, piercing the ground and causing a spring of water to gush forth, which men of later ages fashioned into a well (called Arrow Fountain) for the use of travellers; where Buddha, having attained salvation, came back and met the king, his father; where five hundred princes of the royal family gave up the world and did obeisance to the apostle Upâli, while the earth quaked with six shocks; where Buddha expounded the Faith for the dêvas, while the four Heavenly Kings guarded the four doors so that the king, Buddha's father, could not get in; where Buddha sat under a fig-tree, which still exists, with his face to the east, and his aunt presented him with a priest's cassock; and where king Vâidûrya slew the maidens of the house of Shâkya, who all became Saints before death—at the above places pagodas have been built and are still in existence.

Several *li* to the north-east of the city was the

arable land belonging to the crown, where the Heir Apparent sat under a tree and watched men ploughing. Fifty *li* to the east of the city was a royal garden, called Lumbinî; and here the queen having entered the pool to bathe, came out on the north side, and after walking twenty paces, raised her hands and grasped the branch of a tree. Then, facing the east, she brought forth the Heir Apparent. On reaching the ground, the Heir Apparent walked seven steps, and two dragon-kings washed his body. At the place of washing, a well was afterwards made; and also from the above-mentioned bathing-pool, the priests of to-day are accustomed to get their drinking-water.

In all, Buddha has four places which will ever be remembered: (1) where he became a Buddha; (2) where he began to turn the wheel of the Faith; (3) where he expounded the Faith by discussion, thereby routing heretics; and (4) where he came down after going up to heaven to expound the Faith to his mother. Other spots have been noted from time to time in accordance with the happenings thereat.

The country of Kapilavastu is desolate and barren, with very few inhabitants. On the roads, white elephants and lions are to be feared; travellers must not be incautious.

Travelling eastwards five yôjanas from Buddha's birth-place, there is a country called Râma-grâma, the king of which obtained a share

(one-eighth) of the relics from Buddha's corpse, and returning home, built a pagoda, known as the Râma pagoda. By the side of this there is a pool, and in the pool there is a dragon which is always guarding the pagoda and making offerings day and night. When king Asôka went into the world, he wished to destroy the eight pagodas (over the eight relics) and build eighty-four thousand (one for each atom of Buddha's body). Having already destroyed seven, he next wished to destroy this one; but the dragon became bodily visible, and led him into the building. Then when the king had seen the instrumental parts of the offerings made, the dragon addressed him, saying, "If you can worship more efficiently than this, you may destroy it." Leading the king away, the dragon continued, "I will not contend with you"; and the king, knowing that such instrumental parts were not of this world, returned home.

The place becoming rank with vegetation, and without any one to sprinkle or sweep, a herd of elephants took to bringing water for sprinkling the ground in their trunks and also making offerings of various flowers and incense at the pagoda. A Buddhist of this country, wishing to worship at the pagoda, when he came across the elephants, was very much afraid and hid himself behind the trees. Then beholding the elephants making offerings in accordance with the Faith, this Buddhist was overcome with sorrow that

there was here no monastery from which offerings might be made at this pagoda, so that the sprinkling and sweeping devolved upon elephants. Thereupon he gave up his secular (Five) Commandments, and returning home became a deacon (accepting the Ten Commandments), himself cutting down the grass and shrubs, levelling the ground, and making it neat and clean. He further persuaded the king to make a dwelling-place for priests, and when completed he became abbot. There is now a monastery in which priests are in residence. The above events are quite recent; and from the date of their occurrence until now, a deacon has always been chosen as abbot.

From this point going three yôjanas to the east, there is the spot where the Heir Apparent sent back Chandaka, his charioteer, and his white horse, and where a pagoda has been built.

Travelling four yôjanas to the east, the pilgrims arrived at the Charcoal Pagoda, where also there is a monastery; and twelve yôjanas farther on in the same direction, they came to the city of Kusanagara. To the north of the city where, between two trees, on the bank of the (southern) Hiranya, the World-Honoured One, with his head to the north, passed away; where Subhadra was converted in his last moments; where in his golden coffin offerings were made for seven days to the World-Honoured One; where Vajrapâni discarded his Diamond Club; and where the

eight kings divided the remains of Buddha's cremated body;—at these places pagodas have been built, as well as monasteries, all of which exist to this day. In this city, too, the inhabitants are few and scattered, and are only such as are connected with the priesthood.

From this point going twelve yôjanas to the south-east, the pilgrims arrived at the place where the Vâisâli chiefs wished to pass away with Buddha, but He would not hear of it. Longing to be with Buddha, they refused to depart; whereupon Buddha caused a great gully to pass between himself and them, which they could not cross. Then He gave them his alms-bowl as a token, and sent them away to their homes. A stone pillar has been put up, with these facts inscribed thereon.

From this point travelling five yôjanas to the east, the pilgrims arrived at the country of Vâisâli (now Besârh). To the north of the capital there is a large forest and a shrine in two sections where Buddha once dwelt, and also a pagoda built over half of the body of Ânanda. Inside the city there is the pagoda, still in existence, which the courtesan, Amradârikâ, built in honour of Buddha. Three *li* to the south of the city, on the west side of the road, there is the garden which Amradârikâ presented to Buddha for a dwelling-place. When Buddha was about to pass away, and had issued with his disciples out of the west gate of the city, He turned

himself round to the right, and beholding the city of Vâisâli, said to the disciples "This is the last place I shall visit." Men of later ages have built a pagoda on the spot.

Three *li* to the north-west of the city there is a pagoda, called "Arms Discarded," the origin of which name was as follows. On the upper Ganges there was a king whose concubine had been delivered of an unformed foetus. The queen in her jealousy said, "Your delivery is a bad omen," and accordingly enclosed it in a wooden box and threw it into the Ganges. Lower down the stream another king was taking a stroll when he saw on the water the wooden box. He opened it and found inside a thousand small boys, well-formed and of striking appearance. The king at once took them and brought them up as his adopted sons; and when they were full-grown they were very brave and strong, so that whenever they went to war their enemies were invariably compelled to submit. Subsequently, they attacked the country of the king, their real father, at which he was overwhelmed with sorrow. The concubine, their mother, asked him what was the cause of his sorrow; to which he replied, "The king of that country has a thousand sons, brave and strong beyond compare, and they wish to come and attack my country; that is why I am sorrowful." The concubine said, "Do not grieve, but put up a lofty platform on the eastern wall of the city,

and when the enemy comes, place me on it; I shall be able to keep them off." The king did so; and when the enemy arrived, the concubine called out to them from the top of the platform, "You are my sons; why do you rebel against me?" The enemy replied, "Who are you that say you are our mother?" The concubine answered, "If you do not believe me, all look up and open your mouths." She then pressed her two breasts, and each breast gave forth five hundred jets of milk which fell into the mouths of her thousand sons, who thus knew that she was their mother, and at once laid down their arms. The two father kings, by meditating upon these circumstances, attained the rank of Saints, and the pagoda in their honour is still existing. Afterwards, when the World-Honoured One became a Buddha, he said to his disciples, "This is the place where before my time weapons were laid down." Thus posterity came to know the story, and built a pagoda on the spot, naming it accordingly. The thousand boys were the Buddhas of a former Aeon of Sages. It was alongside of this pagoda that Buddha said to Ânanda, "Three months hence I must pass away"; whereupon the king of the devils so confused Ânanda that he did not beg Buddha to remain in the world.

From this point going eastwards three or four *li* there is a pagoda. A hundred years after Buddha had passed away, some religious mendi-

cants of Vâisâli having broken the Disciplines in ten particulars, appealed for justification of their conduct to what they said had been laid down by Buddha himself; whereupon the Lo-han and the orthodox religious mendicants, in all seven hundred ecclesiastics, examined and compared the Disciplines over and over again. Men of later ages built a pagoda at this place, and it is still in existence.

From this point travelling four yôjanas to the east, the pilgrims arrived at the confluence of five rivers. When Ânanda was on his way from Magadha to Vâisâli, hoping that there he would pass away, the dêvas informed king Ajâtasatru, who immediately followed him in a state chariot, and with a troop of soldiers, to the river. The chiefs of the Vâisâlis, hearing that Ânanda was coming, also went out to meet him, and both parties reached the river-banks. Then Ânanda, reflecting that if he advanced he would incur the hatred of king Ajâtasatru, and if he retired the chiefs of the Vâisâlis would feel aggrieved, there, in the middle of the river, he entered into the fiery state of samâdhi, his body was cremated, and thus he passed away. His remains were divided into two portions, one for each side of the river; each king got one half of the remains as a relic, and returning home, built a pagoda for its reception.

Having crossed the river and journeyed one yôjana towards the south, the pilgrims arrived

at the country of Magadha and the city of Pâtaliputra (Patna), formerly ruled by king Asôka. The king's palace in the city, with its various halls, all built by spirits who piled up stones, constructed walls and gates, carved designs, engraved and inlaid, after no human fashion, is still in existence. King Asôka's younger brother, having attained the rank of Lo-han, took up his abode on the Vulture Mountain (Gridhrakuta), his idea of enjoyment being undisturbed quiet for meditation. The king very respectfully asked him to come and practise his religious observances at the palace; but he, liking the quiet of the mountain, refused to accept the invitation. The king then said to him, "If you will only agree to come, I will build a hill for you in the middle of the city." Accordingly the king prepared a feast, and summoning the spirits said to them, "Tomorrow, when you accept my invitation, there being no seats for you to sit upon, you must each bring your own"; and on the following day the important spirits arrived, each one carrying a huge cube of stone measuring four or five paces every way. When the session was over, the king made the spirits pile them up into a great hill, and also, at the bottom of the hill, with five large square stones, build a stone room, thirty feet in length, twenty feet in breadth, and over ten feet in height.

There was living inside this city and belonging

to the Greater Vehicle, a Brahman (by caste), whose name was Raivata. He was a strikingly enlightened man of much wisdom, there being nothing which he did not understand. He led a pure and solitary life; and the king of the country revered him as his teacher, so that whenever he went to visit the Brahman, he did not venture to sit beside him. If the king, from a feeling of love and veneration, grasped his hand, when he let go, the Brahman would immediately wash it. He was perhaps over fifty years of age, and all the country looked up to and relied upon this one man to diffuse widely the Faith in Buddha, so that the heretics were unable to persecute the priesthood.

By the side of king Asôka's pagoda, a monastery under the Great Vehicle was built, very imposing in appearance; and also one under the Lesser Vehicle, the two together containing six to seven hundred priests, grave and decorous, each in his proper place,—a striking sight. Virtuous Shamans and scholars from the four quarters, wishing to investigate the principles of duty to one's neighbour, all come to the latter monastery.

There is resident in the former a Brahman teacher, who is named Manjusrî (after the famous Bôdhisatva), and who is very much looked up to by the leading Shamans and religious mendicants under the Greater Vehicle throughout the kingdom.

Of all the countries of Central India, this has the largest cities and towns. Its people are rich and thriving and emulate one another in practising charity of heart and duty to one's neighbour. Regularly every year, on the eighth day of the second moon, they have a procession of images. They make a four-wheeled car of five storeys by lashing together bamboos, and these storeys are supported by posts in the form of crescent-bladed halberds. The car is over twenty feet in height, and in form like a pagoda; and it is draped with a kind of white cashmere, which is painted in various colours. They make images of dêvas, ornamented with gold, silver, and strass, and with silk banners and canopies overhead. At the four sides they make niches, each with a Buddha sitting inside and a Bôdhisatva in attendance. There may be some twenty cars, all beautifully ornamented and different from one another. On the above-mentioned day all the ecclesiastics and laymen in the district assemble; they have singing and high-class music, and make offerings of flowers and incense. The Brahmans come to invite the Buddhas; and these enter the city in regular order and there pass two nights, while all night long lamps are burning, high-class music is being played, and offerings are being made. Such is the custom in all these nations.

The elders and gentry of these countries have instituted in their capitals free hospitals, and

hither come all poor or helpless patients, orphans, widowers, and cripples. They are well taken care of, a doctor attends them, food and medicine being supplied according to their needs. They are all made quite comfortable, and when they are cured they go away.

When Asôka destroyed the seven pagodas, with a view to building eighty-four thousand others, the very first large pagoda he built was at a distance of over three *li* to the south of the city. In front of this there is a foot-print of Buddha's, over which a shrine has been raised, with its entrance facing north.

To the south of the pagoda there is a stone pillar, fourteen or fifteen feet in girth and over thirty feet in height. On it there is an inscription as follows:—"King Asôka bestowed the inhabited portion of the world on the priesthood of all quarters, and then bought it back from them with money; he did this three times."

Three to four hundred paces to the north of the pagoda is the place where Asôka built the city of Ni-li (unidentified), in the middle of which is a stone pillar, also over thirty feet in height. On the top of it there is a lion, and on the pillar there is an inscription recording the origin of the city of Ni-li, with the year, month, and day on which the inscription was written.

From this point travelling nine yôjanas to the south-east, the pilgrims arrived at a small orphan-rock hill (near Giryek), on the top of which was

a stone chamber, facing south, in which Buddha sat when Indra, God of Heaven, brought the divine musician, Pancha, to play upon the psaltery for Buddha's enjoyment. Indra then put questions on forty-two subjects, to each of which Buddha wrote an answer with his finger on the rock. Traces of this writing still exist, and here also there is a monastery. One yôjana on to the south-west, they came to Nâlanda (Baragong), the village where Sâriputra was born and whither he returned to pass away. Here a pagoda was raised, which is still in existence.

From this place travelling one yôjana to the west, they came to the new city of Râjagriha, built by king Ajâtasatru, and containing two monasteries. Three hundred paces outside the west gate of the city there is a lofty and beautiful pagoda which king Ajâtasatru raised over the share he had obtained of Buddha's remains. Four *li* from the south of the city, bearing southward, a valley leads to a space among five hills which completely surround it and give it the appearance of the walls of a fortified city. It is in fact the site of the old city of king Bimbasâra, which measured from east to west some five to six *li* and from north to south seven to eight *li*.

The following spots are still known:—Where Sâriputra and Mugalan first saw Asvajit (one of the first five of Buddha's disciples); where Srîgupta, an ascetic, made a fire-pit and poisoned

the food which he offered to Buddha; where Ajâtasatru made a black elephant drunk, wishing to injure Buddha; where, at the north-east corner of the city, at a bend in the road, Jîvaka, son of king Bimbasâra, built a shrine in the garden of Amradârikâ, his mother, and having invited Buddha with twelve hundred and fifty disciples, made offerings to them. The city itself is a waste, without any inhabitants.

Entering the valley and bearing round the mountains to the south-west on a rising gradient for fifteen *li*, the pilgrims arrived at the Vulture Mountain. Three *li* from the summit there is a cave in the rock, facing south, where Buddha sat in meditation. Thirty paces to the north-west there is another such cave, in which Ânanda was sitting in meditation when the celestial Devil-god of Lust (Mâra Pisuma) changed himself into a vulture and stood before the cave in order to frighten Ânanda; but Buddha by his divine power pierced the rock, and stretching out his hand stroked Ânanda's shoulder, so that his fear was allayed. The tracks of the bird and the hole for Buddha's hand are both still to be seen; hence the name Vulture-cave Mountain.

In front of the cave is the place where the four Buddhas sat down, and also the caves where each of the Lo-han sat in meditation, several hundred in all. Also, the place where Buddha was pacing up and down, east and west, in front of his cave when Dêvadatta from among the

crags to the north of the mountain wickedly threw a rock at him and wounded him on the toe. The rock is still to be seen. The hall in which Buddha preached the Faith has been destroyed; nothing of it remains save the foundations of the brick walls.

The peaks of this mountain, which is the highest of the five mountains, are picturesque and imposing. In the New City Fa-hsien bought incense, flowers, oil, and lamps, and hired two religious mendicants, who knew the way, to carry them. He then went up the Vulture Mountain, made offerings of flowers and incense and kept lamps alight until dawn. His feelings overcame him, but he restrained his tears and said, "Buddha formerly lived here and delivered the Sûrângama sûtra. I, Fa-hsien, born at a time when too late to meet the Buddha, can only gaze upon his traces and his dwelling-place." Thereupon he chanted the above sûtra in front of the cave, and after remaining one night returned to the New City.

At a distance of over three hundred paces north from the Old City, on the west side of the road, the travellers arrived at the shrine in the Karanda Garden; it is still there, and is swept and sprinkled by priests.

Two or three *li* to the north of this is the Smasânam, which in Chinese means "a field of tombs into which dead people are cast."

Rounding the southern mountain and going

three hundred paces to the west, there is a rock chamber called the Peepul (fig-tree) Cave, where Buddha used to sit in meditation after his meals.

Five to six *li* further west, on the north and shaded side of the mountain, there is a rock chamber, called Sataparna, where, after the passing of Buddha, five hundred Lo-han compiled the Sûtras. When the Sûtras were brought out, three vacant seats had been prepared and very handsomely decorated, the one on the left being for Sâriputra, and that on the right for Mugalan. Of the five hundred Lo-han, one was wanting; and when the great Kâsyapa had taken his seat as chairman, it turned out that Ânanda was outside the door and unable to enter. A pagoda was built on the spot, and is still in existence.

Round the mountain there are a great many rock caves where the Lo-han sat in meditation. Issuing from the north of the Old City and going down for three *li* to the east, there is Dêvadatta's rock cave; and fifty paces from this, there is a large square black rock. Formerly, a religious mendicant, pacing backwards and forwards on it, reflected as follows:—"This body of mine suffers the bitterness of impermanency; in vain do I attain to an outlook which is not pure. I loathe this body!" Thereupon he seized a knife, meaning to kill himself; but once more he reflected: "The World-Honoured One has set his canon against self-slaughter." Then he

further reflected: "Although this is so, I now only desire to slay three baneful thieves,—lust, hate, and ignorance." He then took the knife and cut his throat. At the beginning of the cut he became a Saint; when half through, an Anâgâmin; and when quite through, a Lo-han (three degrees of Buddhist saintship); and then he passed away.

From this point travelling four yôjanas to the west, the pilgrims arrived at the city of Gayâ, also a complete waste within its walls. Twenty *li* further to the south, they reached the place where Buddha, as Bôdhisatva, formerly passed six years in self-mortification. It is in a woody district.

Again three *li* to the west, they were at the spot where Buddha once entered the water to bathe, and where a dêva pressed down the branch of a tree for him to grasp and get out of the pool.

Two *li* to the north is the place where a lay-sister presented to Buddha congee made with milk.

Two *li* to the north of this, Buddha, sitting on a rock under a great tree, with his face to the east, ate the congee. The tree and the rock are both still there, the latter being about six feet in length and breadth by over two feet in height. In Central India the climate is so equable that trees will live several thousand, and even so long as ten thousand years.

Half a yôjana to the north-east of this, the pilgrims arrived at the cave in which Buddha as a Bôdhisatva sat down cross-legged with his face to the west, and reflected as follows: "If I am to become a Buddha, there should be some divine manifestation in token thereof." At once the silhouette of a Buddha appeared upon the rock; it was over three feet in height and is plainly visible at the present day. Then heaven and earth quaked mightily, and the dêvas in the empyrean made the following announcement: "This is not the place where past and future Buddhas have attained or are to attain Buddhaship. The proper spot is less than half a yôjana to the south-west of this, beneath the Bô (palm) tree, where all past and future Buddhas have attained or will attain to Buddhaship." When the dêvas had uttered these words, they proceeded to lead the way with singing, in order to conduct the Bôdhisatva thither. He then got up and followed; and when thirty paces from the tree, a dêva gave him the grass of happy omen (kusa). Having accepted this, he went on fifteen paces further, and then five hundred green birds came and flew three times round him, and departed. The Bôdhisatva went on to the Bô tree; and there, laying down the grass of happy omen, he took his seat with his face to the east. Then Mâra, king of the devils, sent three beautiful girls, who approached him from the north to tempt him, while Mâra himself came from the

south for the same purpose. But the Bôdhisatva pressed the ground with his toes, whereupon the infernal army retreated in confusion, and the three girls were changed into old women.

At the above-mentioned place where Buddha suffered self-mortification for six years, as well as at these other spots, men of later ages have raised pagodas and set up images, all of which are still in existence. Pagodas have also been raised at the following places: where Buddha, then a Bôdhisatva, after having attained Buddhaship, contemplated the Bô tree for seven days, experiencing the joy of liberation from earthly trammels; where Buddha paced east and west beneath the Bô tree for seven days; where the dêvas caused to appear a chamber built from the seven preciosities and there made offerings to Buddha for seven days; where the blind dragon, Muchilinda, coiled round Buddha for seven days to shelter him; where Buddha sat facing the east on a square rock under a fig-tree when Brahma came and begged him to expound the Faith; where the four heavenly kings offered to Buddha their alms-bowls; where the five hundred traders gave him boiled grain and honey; and where he converted the brothers Kâsyapa with their disciples to the number of one thousand souls.

Where Buddha attained to Buddhaship, there are three monasteries, each with resident priests, who receive offerings in abundance from the

populace, without the least stint. The strictness with which, while Buddha was still in the world, the holy brotherhood observed their vows and disciplinary regulations, and the gravity of their deportment when sitting, rising, or entering an assembly, persist down to the present day.

Ever since Buddha entered into Nirvâna, the sites of four great pagodas have been handed down by unbroken tradition; namely, (1) on the spot where Buddha was born, (2) where he became a Lo-han, (3) where he preached the Faith, and (4) where he passed away.

Formerly, when king Asôka was a boy and was playing in the road, he met Shâkyamuni Buddha who was out begging for food. The boy, for fun, took up a handful of mud and gave it to him as alms. Buddha received it and put it back on the ground where he paced in meditation; and as a reward for this, the boy was made an iron-wheel king and ruled over the inhabited world.

On assuming this dignity, he made a tour of inspection through his domain, and saw between the two ranges of mountains which surround it like iron walls, a hell for punishing sinners, and at once asked his suite, saying, "What is the meaning of this?" "It is where the devil-king, Yama, punishes sinners," was the reply. King Asôka reflected and said, "If even a king of devils can make a hell for punishing sinners, why should not I, who am a ruler of men, make

a hell for the punishment of sinners?" Then he asked of his suite, "Who is able to make for me such a hell and to superintend the punishment of sinners?" "Only a very bad man," they replied, "could do this." The king accordingly sent officers in all directions to search for a bad man; and they discovered alongside of a stream a tall, burly man, of black colour, with yellow hair and green eyes. He used his feet to hook up fishes, and his mouth to whistle to birds and beasts; and when these came to him, he promptly shot and killed them, not a single one escaping. Having got this man, they took him to the king, who secretly instructed him as follows: "You make a square with high walls, and plant in it all kinds of flowers and fruits, with good pools for bathing, the whole so beautifully ornamented as to cause people to long to gaze upon it. Make a strong entrance-gate; and when any one passes in, seize him at once, and administer punishment according to his deserts. Do not let him get out; and if you catch me going in, punish me in the same way, and do not let me go. I now appoint you director of this hell."

It chanced that a religious mendicant, on his appointed round in quest of food, passed through the gate; and the gaolers, on seeing him, straightway desired to subject him to punishment. The mendicant was terrified and pleaded, "Give me a few moments that I may eat my midday meal."

At that juncture, another man came in, and the attendants threw him into a mortar and pounded him until he foamed blood at his mouth. The mendicant, seeing this, reflected that this body suffers the bitterness of impermanency and has no more reality than a bubble or foam: whereupon he suddenly became a Lo-han. Then when the gaolers plunged him into a cauldron of boiling water, the mendicant's heart was exceedingly glad; the fire was extinguished, the hot water became cold, and in the middle of it there grew up a lotus-flower on which the mendicant sat down. The gaolers hurriedly went off to announce these strange happenings to the king, begging him to proceed to the spot and see for himself. But the king said, "I formerly made an agreement, and now I dare not go"; to which the attendants replied, "This is no small matter; your Majesty ought to go with all speed and change the original agreement." So the king went in, and the mendicant expounded for him the Faith; he became a believer and was saved. After this he destroyed the hell and repented of all his previous evil deeds. From that time forward he became a steadfast believer in the Precious Trinity, and regularly went beneath the Bô tree to repent him of his transgressions, to reproach himself, and to carry out the Eight Abstinences.

The queen asked whither her husband went so frequently; and the courtiers replied, "He

is often to be found under the Bô tree." So the queen waited until the king was away from the tree, and then sent men to cut it down. When the king came and saw this, stupefied with grief he collapsed on the ground. The courtiers threw water on his face, and after a long time he came round. He then had the stump banked up on all sides with bricks (the original trunk being replaced), and the roots moistened with a hundred pitchers of cow's milk; and flinging himself flat upon the ground, he swore this oath: "If the tree does not live, I will never get up again." The oath was hardly uttered when the tree began to grow from the roots upwards (to the part cut down), and it has continued to do so to this day, and is now rather less than one hundred feet in height.

From this point going south three *li*, the pilgrims arrived at a mountain called Cock's-Foot (Gurupada), in which the great Kâsyapa now lies. Kâsyapa split the rock in order to get down into it, but the cleft is not big enough to let a man through. A considerable distance lower down, there is a niche on the side of the mountain, and in that stands a full-length image of Kâsyapa. Outside this niche is found the alum with which Kâsyapa washed his hands, and which the people of the district, if suffering from headache, apply to the head and are at once relieved.

Therefore, since that time there have been

Lo-han on this mountain; and when persons of the Buddhist persuasion come yearly from the neighbouring countries to make their offerings to Kâsyapa, the Lo-han appear by night to the steadfast ones, converse with them, and resolve their doubts. Then, when they have finished, they vanish. On this mountain there are hazel-trees in abundance; also a great many lions, tigers, and wolves, so that travellers have to be cautious.

Fa-hsien now retraced his steps towards Pâtaliputra, following the downward course of the Ganges westward for ten yôjanas, and reaching a shrine, called "The Wilderness," where Buddha once lived and which still has its resident priests.

Again following the Ganges for twelve yôjanas to the west, he arrived at the city of Benares in the land of Kasi. About ten *li* to the north of the city, he came to the shrine in the Deer-forest of the Immortal. In this deer-forest there was once a saintly hermit, with whom the wild deer would often come and pass the night. When the World-Honoured One was about to become a Buddha, the dêvas in space sang these words: "The son of king Suddhôdana left his home to learn the Truth; seven days hence he will become a Buddha." The saintly hermit, hearing these words, at once entered into Nirvâna. Therefore the place was named the Deer-forest of the Immortal; and later on, after Buddha

had attained to Buddhaship, a shrine was built here.

When Buddha wished to save his uncle Kâundinya and the others, five in all, the latter said among themselves: "This Gotama cleric practised self-mortification for six years, living on a single hemp-seed and one grain of rice daily, and even so without attaining to the Truth. Besides, going back into the world as he has done and giving way to the instincts of his body and his mouth,—where does Truth come in? When he comes to-day, let us carefully avoid speaking with him."

Pagodas have been raised at all the following places: where the five men, upon Buddha's arrival, got up and saluted him; where, sixty paces to the north Buddha sat facing the east and began to preach the Faith and gave salvation to Kâundinya and the others, five in all; where, twenty paces still further north, Buddha communicated the prophecy about Maîtrêya, the coming Buddha; and where, fifty paces to the south, the dragon, Elapatra, asked Buddha, "When shall I be freed from this dragon body (and be born a man)?" There are now two monasteries in the deer-forest, both with resident priests.

Thirteen yôjanas to the north-west of the above shrine, there is a country called Kausâmbî (? Kusia near Kurrah, or Kosam on the Jumna). There is a shrine there, known as the Garden

of Ghôchiravana, in which Buddha once dwelt and where there are still priests, mostly of the Lesser Vehicle.

Eight yôjanas to the east of this there is the place where Buddha gave salvation to the evil spirit (? Alavaka), and also the spots where he walked and sat down when he dwelt here, on all of which pagodas have been raised. There is also a monastery with perhaps over one hundred priests.

From this point travelling two hundred yôjanas towards the south, there is a country called Deccan, in which there is a monastery dedicated to Kâsyapa Buddha, made by hollowing out a great rock. It has five storeys in all; the lowest being in the form of an elephant, with five hundred stone chambers; the second in the form of a lion, with four hundred chambers; the third in the form of a horse, with three hundred chambers; the fourth in the form of an ox, with two hundred chambers; and the fifth in the form of a dove, with one hundred chambers. At the very top there is a spring of water which runs in front of each chamber, encircling each storey, round and round, in and out, until it reaches the bottom storey where, following the configuration of the excavations, it flows out by the door. In all the priests' chambers, the rock has been pierced for windows to admit light, so that they are quite bright and nowhere dark. At the four corners of these excavations the rock

has been bored and steps have been made by which the top can be reached. The men of the present day, being of small stature, go up by the steps and reach the top; but the men of old went up at a single step. And so this monastery came to be called Pâravâ, which in the language of India means Columbarium.

There are always Lo-han in residence here. The land is uncultivated, and there are no inhabitants. Only at a great distance from the mountain are there villages, all the inhabitants of which are pagans, and know nothing of the Buddhist Faith, of Shamans, of Brahmans, or of any other of the heterodox religions. They frequently see people come flying and enter the monastery; and once when Buddhist worshippers came from the neighbouring countries to pray at this monastery, one of the villagers asked them, saying, "Why do not you fly here? The worshippers I see here, all fly." "It is because our wings have not yet grown," replied the worshippers without hesitation.

The country of Deccan is mountainous and its roads difficult for travellers; even those who know the way, if they wish to travel, should send a present of money to the king who will thereupon depute men to escort them and pass them on from one stage to another, showing them the short cuts. Fa-hsien was unable to go thither; he merely states what he heard from the natives.

From Benares travelling eastward the pilgrims came back again to Pâtaliputra. Fa-hsien's object was to get copies of the Disciplines; but in the various countries of Northern India these were handed down orally from one Patriarch to another, there being no written volume which he could copy. Therefore he extended his journey as far as Central India, and here in a monastery of the Greater Vehicle he obtained a copy according to the text accepted at the first Great Assembly and practised by priests generally while Buddha was still alive. This is the text which was handed down at the Shrine of the Garden of Gold; as to other texts, the Eighteen Schools have each one the commentary of its own Patriarch, which agree in the main but have slight differences, from the text having been dealt with freely in some cases, rigidly in others. The above-mentioned, however, is the most comprehensive and complete. He got, moreover, a further transcript of the Disciplines running to seven thousand stanzas as used by the Sarvâstivâdâh School (which asserted the reality of all visible phenomena) and practised by priests in China. These also have been handed down orally from Patriarch to Patriarch without being committed to writing. From the community here he also obtained extracts from the Abhidharma (the philosophical portion of the Canon) in about six thousand stanzas, and a complete copy of the Yen (?) sûtra in two

thousand five hundred stanzas, as well as a roll of the Vâipulya Parinirvâna sûtra in five thousand stanzas, and the Abhidharma accepted by the Great Assembly. Therefore Fa-hsien stopped here for three years, learning to write and speak Sanskrit (or Pali) and copying out the Disciplines.

Now as to Tao-chêng, when he reached Central India and observed the regulations of the Shamans and the grave demeanour of the priests, notable in all circumstances, he reflected with a sigh that in the outer land of China the Disciplines in the hands of the priests were mutilated and imperfect, and uttered the following invocation: "From this time forth until I become a Buddha, may I never live again in an outer land." He therefore remained and did not go back; but Fa-hsien's original object being to diffuse a knowledge of the Disciplines throughout the land of China, he (ultimately) went back alone.

Following the course of the Ganges down stream eighteen yôjanas towards the east, there is on the south bank the great kingdom of Champâ, in which was the place of Buddha's shrine, where he walked up and down in meditation, and also the spot where the four Buddhas sat down, on all of which pagodas have been raised and priests now live.

From this point journeying east about fifty yôjanas, Fa-hsien arrived at the country of Tamluk (at the mouth of the Hoogly), where there

is a sea-port. In this country there are twenty-four monasteries, all with resident priests, and the Buddhist Faith is very flourishing. Fa-hsien stayed here for two years, copying out sûtras and drawing pictures of images.

At the end of this time he took passage on a large merchant vessel, and setting sail proceeded towards the south-west with the first of the favourable winter monsoon. After fourteen days and nights he reached the Land of the Lion (Ceylon), said by the inhabitants to lie at a distance of seven hundred yôjanas from India. This country is on a great island, measuring fifty yôjanas from east to west and thirty from north to south. The small islands round about are nearly one hundred in number, and are distant from one another ten, twenty, or even two hundred *li*. They are all subject to the mother island, and produce chiefly pearls and precious stones. There is one island where the Mani beads (fine pearls used for Buddhist rosaries) are found; it is about ten *li* square. The king sends men to guard it; and if any pearls are obtained, he takes three-tenths.

This country was not originally inhabited by human beings, but only by devils and dragons, with whom the merchants of the neighbouring countries traded by barter. At the time of the barter the devils did not appear, but set out their valuables with the prices attached. The merchants then gave goods according to the

prices marked and took away the goods they wanted. And from the merchants going backwards and forwards and some stopping there, the attractions of the place became widely known, and people went thither in great numbers, so that it became a great nation.

The temperature of this country is very agreeable; there is no distinction between winter and summer. Plants and trees flourish all the year round, and cultivation of the soil is carried on as men please, without regard to the season.

When Buddha came to this country, he wished to convert the wicked dragons; and by his divine power he placed one foot to the north of the royal city and the other on the top of Adam's Peak, the two points being fifteen yôjanas apart. Over the foot-print to the north of the city a great pagoda has been built, four hundred feet in height and decorated with gold and silver and with all kinds of precious substances combined. By the side of the pagoda a monastery has also been built, called No-Fear Mountain, where there are now five thousand priests. There is a Hall of Buddha of gold and silver carved work with all kinds of precious substances, in which stands his image in green jade, over twenty feet in height, the whole of which glitters with the seven preciosities, the countenance being grave and dignified beyond expression in words. On the palm of the right hand lies a priceless pearl.

Fa-hsien had now been many years away from his own land of Han; the people he had had to deal with were all inhabitants of strange countries; the mountains, the streams, plants, and trees on which his eyes had lighted were not those of old days; moreover, those who had travelled with him were separated from him—some having remained behind in these countries, others having died. Now, beholding only his own shadow, he was constantly sad at heart; and when suddenly, by the side of this jade image, he saw a merchant make offering of a white silk fan from China, his feelings overcame him and his eyes filled with tears.

A former king of this country had sent an envoy to Central India to get seeds of the Bô tree, which he planted alongside of the Hall of Buddha, and from which a tree grew up to a height of two hundred feet. As this tree bent over towards the south-east, the king feared it would fall, and therefore placed a prop of eight or nine spans in circumference to support it. Where the tree and prop met, the tree shot out; and the shoot, piercing the prop, went right through it to the ground and took root, growing to about four spans in circumference. Although the prop was split through, it still encircles the shoot and has not been taken away. At the foot of the tree a shrine has been built, with the image of Buddha seated inside, an object of ceaseless worship to ecclesiastics and laymen.

In the city, too, a shrine has been built to receive a tooth of Buddha's, both the above being made from the seven preciosities.

The king scrupulously observes the rites of Brahma, and the religious sentiments of the people inside the city are also firmly established. Ever since this country has been under civilized government, it has known neither famine nor rebellion. In the treasury of the priests there are many precious stones and priceless pearls. When the present king went in to see this treasury, the sight of these pearls made him envious, and he wanted to carry them off by force. At the end of three days he came to his senses; and going to visit the priests, he knocked his head on the ground before them in repentance of his former transgression. "I desire you priests," he said, "to make a regulation that from this time forth your king shall not be permitted to enter this treasury, but that any religious mendicant of full forty years' standing may be allowed to enter."

In this city there are many elders of the Buddhist laity; the dwellings of the head-merchants are very grand; and the side-streets and main thoroughfares are level and well kept. At all points where four roads meet there are chapels for preaching the Faith; and on the eighth, fourteenth, and fifteenth of each month a lofty dais is arranged, where ecclesiastics and laymen come together from all quarters to hear

the Faith expounded. The people of the country say that there are between fifty and sixty thousand priests altogether, all of whom get their food from a common stock. The king separately provides within the city a common stock for five or six thousand more; and those who want food take their own bowls and go to fetch it, returning with them filled according to the capacity of each.

Buddha's Tooth is regularly brought out in the middle of the third moon. Ten days previously the king causes a large elephant to be splendidly caparisoned, and a man who speaks well to be dressed up in royal robes and mounted on the elephant. This man will beat a drum and proclaim in a loud voice, "The Bôdhisatva during three immeasurable aeons practised self-mortification and did not spare his person or his life; he gave up his country, his wife, and his child; he gouged out his eyes to give to a fellow-creature; he cut off his flesh to ransom a dove, and his head to give as alms; he flung his body to a hungry tigress, stinting neither his marrow nor his brains. Thus in various ways he suffered for the benefit of living creatures, and so he became a Buddha, tarrying on earth forty-nine years, preaching the Faith and converting sinners, giving rest to the weary and salvation to those who had not been saved. When his relations with living creatures had been fulfilled, he passed away. Since his entry into Nirvâna,

fourteen hundred and ninety-seven years ago, the Eye of the world has been put out, and all living creatures have sorely grieved. Now, ten days hence Buddha's Tooth will be brought forth and be taken to the shrine of the No-Fear Mountain. Let all those ecclesiastics and laymen of this country who wish to lay up happiness for themselves, help to level the roads, decorate the streets, and prepare flowers, incense, and implements of worship."

When these words have been recited, the king then proceeds to make on both sides of the road representations of the five hundred different forms in which the Bôdhisatva successively appeared; for instance as prince Sudâna, or as a flash of lightning, as the king of elephants, as a stag, or as a horse. These representations are all beautifully painted and have a life-like appearance. The Tooth is then brought out and passes along the central street, receiving homage of offerings as it goes by. Arriving at the Hall of Buddha in the shrine of the No-Fear Mountain, ecclesiastics and laymen flock together in crowds, burn incense, light lamps, and perform the various ceremonies of the Faith, day and night without ceasing. After ninety days have elapsed, the Tooth is returned to the shrine in the city. On fast-days this shrine is opened for worship according to the Faith.

Forty *li* to the east of the No-Fear shrine, there is the sacred mountain, Mihintale, with a

shrine on it called Bhadrika, in which there are about two thousand priests. Among them is a Shaman, the Reverend Dharmagupta, whom all the people of this country respect and look up to. He has dwelt in a stone cell for more than forty years; and by constant exercise of kindness of heart he has succeeded in so influencing snakes and rats that they will live together in the same cell without hurting one another.

Seven *li* to the south of the city there is a shrine called the Great Shrine, with three thousand resident priests. Among them was one reverend Shaman, so pure in his conduct as regards the Disciplines that all suspected him of being a Lo-han. When he was at the point of death, the king came to look into the matter; and when, in accordance with the rules of the Faith, he had assembled the priests, he asked, "Has this religious mendicant become a Lo-han?" The priests at once told the truth and replied, "He is a Lo-han." When he was dead the king accordingly buried him with the ceremonial due to a Lo-han, as laid down in the Canon.

Four or five *li* to the east of the shrine a great pile of wood was collected, over thirty feet square and of about the same height. Sandal-wood, garoo wood (lign-aloes), and all kinds of scented woods were placed at the top, and at the four sides steps were made. Over it was spread clean white cashmere which surrounded

and quite covered the pyre; and again on the top of this was placed a car, in form like the hearses of China, but without the dragon. At the time of the cremation the king and his subjects collected together from all quarters, and with offerings of flowers and incense followed the car to the burial-ground, the king himself making personal offerings of flowers and incense. When these ceremonies were finished, the car was placed on the top of the pyre, oil of sweet basil was poured all over it, and a light was applied. While the fire was blazing, every one was moved with a feeling of reverence, and each took off his upper garment, and together with feather-fan and umbrella, threw it from a distance into the midst of the flames, so as to help on the cremation. When it was all over, the bones were collected and a pagoda raised over them. Fa-hsien did not arrive while the deceased was yet alive, but only in time to see his funeral.

The king being then a steadfast believer in the Buddhist Faith, and wishing to provide a new shrine for the priests, began by calling a large assembly. When the priests had taken their meal and he had made his offerings, he chose out a couple of fine oxen with horns richly decorated with gold, silver, and other valuables. He had provided a golden plough, and with his own hands he ploughed round the four sides of a piece of ground which he subsequently ceded

to the priesthood, population, fields, houses and all, executing irrevocable (metal) title-deeds for the same to be handed down from generation to generation, and no one was to dare to destroy or alter them.

It was when Fa-hsien was in this country that he heard an Indian Buddhist who was reciting a sûtra from a lofty dais, say,

Buddha's alms-bowl was originally at Vâisâlî; it is now in Gandhâra. After a great number of years—Fa-hsien, at the time when he heard the recitation, had the exact number but has now forgotten it—the bowl will be taken to the country of the Ephthalites of the west (Panjâb); after another similar period, to Khotan; after remaining there for another similar period, to Kara-shahr; after another similar period, it will go back again to China; after remaining there for a similar period, it will go back to Ceylon; and after another similar period, back to Central India. When it arrives there, it will be taken up to heaven; and Mâitrêya, the Bôdhisatva, seeing it, will exclaim with joy, "The alms-bowl of Shâkyamuni Buddha has come." Thereupon, all the dêvas will make offerings of flowers and incense for seven days; and when these have expired, the bowl will be carried back to the world where a sea-dragon king will receive it into his dragon palace. Then when Mâitrêya is about to become a Buddha, the bowl will be divided into four bowls which will revert to their original position on Mt Vinataka.

As soon as he has actually become a Buddha,

the four heavenly kings will once again repeat the process of joining, in the name of Buddha, as in the case of the former Buddha. The thousand Buddhas of this aeon of sages will all use this (reconstituted) bowl; and when it has gone, the Buddhist Faith will gradually die out. When the Faith is extinct, the life of man will decrease in length to about five or ten years' duration; rice and ghee will both disappear; mankind will be very wicked; the sticks they grasp will change into swords and staves, they will wound and slay one another. Those among them who have religious merit will flee into the mountains; and when the wicked have killed one another to the last man, the others will again come forth and say among themselves, "Of old men lived to a great age, but because of their great wickedness and constant violation of the Faith, our term of life has been shortened to ten years. Let us now one and all practise good works; let us raise within us a spirit of compassion and mercy; and let us cultivate charity of heart and duty towards our neighbour. Thus, by the universal cultivation of charity and duty, the duration of life will be continually doubled until it may reach eighty thousand years." When Mâitrêya enters the world and begins to preach the Faith, he will first give salvation to those disciples to whom Shâkyamuni bequeathed the Faith and who have entered the priesthood; also to those who hold to the Three Refuges, the Five Commandments, the rules for fasting, and the worship of the Precious Trinity by offerings. Secondly and thirdly, he will give salvation to those who have earned it in the past.

Fa-hsien at that time wished to write down the above sûtra; but the man said, "This is not a sûtra with a text; the words are my own."

Fa-hsien remained in this country for two years; and after repeated search he obtained a copy of the Disciplines according to the school of "The Faith Prevailing"; also copies of the long Agamas on cosmogony, and of the miscellaneous Agamas on ecstatic contemplation, and subsequently of a collection of extracts from the Canon, all of which China was without. When he had obtained these in Sanskrit, he took passage on board a large merchant-vessel, on which there were over two hundred souls, and astern of which there was a smaller vessel in tow, in case of accident at sea and destruction of the big vessel. Catching a fair wind, they sailed eastward for two days; then they encountered a heavy gale, and the vessel sprang a leak. The merchants wished to get aboard the smaller vessel; but the men on the latter, fearing that they would be swamped by numbers quickly cut the tow-rope in two. The merchants were terrified, for death was close at hand; and fearing that the vessel would fill, they promptly took what bulky goods there were and threw them into the sea. Fa-hsien also took his pitcher and ewer, with whatever else he could spare, and threw them into the sea; but he was afraid that the merchants would throw over his books and his images, and accordingly fixed his whole

thoughts upon Kuan Yin, the Hearer of Prayers, and put his life into the hands of the Catholic Church in China, saying, "I have journeyed far on behalf of the Faith. Oh that by your awful power you would grant me a safe return from my wanderings."

The gale blew on for thirteen days and nights, when they arrived alongside of an island, and then, at ebb-tide, they saw the place where the vessel leaked and forthwith stopped it up, after which they again proceeded on their way.

This sea is infested with pirates, to meet whom is death. The expanse of ocean is boundless, east and west are not distinguishable; only by observation of the sun, moon, and constellations, is progress to be made. In cloudy and rainy weather, our vessel drifted at the mercy of the wind, without keeping any definite course. In the darkness of night nothing was to be seen but the great waves beating upon one another and flashing forth light like fire, huge turtles, sea-lizards, and such-like monsters of the deep. Then the merchants lost heart, not knowing whither they were going, and the sea being deep, without bottom, they had no place where they could cast their stone-anchor and stop. When the sky had cleared, they were able to tell east from west and again to proceed on their proper course; but had they struck a hidden rock, there would have been no way of escape.

And so they went on for more than ninety

days until they reached a country named Java, where heresies and Brahmanism were flourishing, while the Faith of Buddha was in a very unsatisfactory condition.

After having remained in this country for five months or so, Fa-hsien again shipped on board another large merchant-vessel which also carried over two hundred persons. They took with them provisions for fifty days and set sail on the 16th of the 4th moon, and Fa-hsien went into retreat on board the vessel.

A north-east course was set in order to reach Canton; and over a month had elapsed when one night in the second watch (9–11 p.m.) they encountered a violent gale with tempestuous rain, at which the travelling merchants and traders who were going to their homes were much frightened. However, Fa-hsien once more invoked the Hearer of Prayers and the Catholic Church in China, and was accorded the protection of their awful power until day broke. As soon as it was light, the Brahmans took counsel together and said, "Having this Shaman on board has been our undoing, causing us to get into this trouble. We ought to land the religious mendicant on some island; it is not right to endanger all our lives for one man." A "religious protector" of Fa-hsien's replied, saying, "If you put this religious mendicant ashore, you shall also land me with him; if not, you had better kill me, for supposing that you land him,

when I reach China I will report you to the king who is a reverent believer in the Buddhist Faith and honours religious mendicants." At this the merchants wavered and did not dare to land him just then.

Meanwhile, the sky was constantly darkened and the captain lost his reckoning. So they went on for seventy days until the provisions and water were nearly exhausted, and they had to use sea-water for cooking, dividing the fresh water so that each man got about two pints. When all was nearly consumed, the merchants consulted together and said, "The ordinary time for the voyage to Canton is exactly fifty days. We have now exceeded that limit by many days; must we not have gone out of our course?"

Thereupon they proceeded in a north-westerly direction, seeking for land; and after twelve days and nights arrived south of the Lao mountain (on the Shantung promontory) at the boundary of the Prefecture of Ch'ang-kuang (the modern Kiao-chou), where they obtained fresh water and vegetables.

And now, after having passed through much danger, difficulty, sorrow, and fear, suddenly reaching this shore and seeing the old familiar vegetables, they knew it was their fatherland; but not seeing any inhabitants or traces of such, they did not know what part it was. Some said that they had not got as far as Canton; others declared that they had passed it. Being in a

state of uncertainty, some of them got into a small boat and went up a creek in search of any one whom they might ask about the place. These fell in with two hunters and brought them back to the vessel, telling Fa-hsien to act as interpreter and interrogate them. Fa-hsien began by reassuring them, and then quietly asked them, "What men are you?" They replied, "We are followers of Buddha." "And what is it you go among the mountains to seek?" continued Fa-hsien. Then they began to lie, saying, "To-morrow is the 15th day of the 7th moon; we wished to get something for a sacrifice (the lie!) to Buddha." Fa-hsien then said, "What country is this?" They answered, "This is the boundary of the Ch'ang-kuang prefecture in Ch'ing-chou; all these parts belong to the Liu family." When they heard this the merchants were very glad, and at once requested that their effects might be landed, sending men off with them to Ch'ang-kuang.

The Prefect, Li I, was a devout believer in the Faith of Buddha; and when he heard that a Shaman had arrived who had brought Sacred Books and Images with him in a ship from beyond the sea, he immediately proceeded with his retinue to the sea-shore to receive these books and images and carry them back to his official residence. The merchants then returned to Yang-chou (in Kiangsu), while Fa-hsien received an invitation to remain at Ch'ing-chou

a winter and a summer. When his summer retreat was over, Fa-hsien, who had been far separated from his ecclesiastical authorities for many years, was desirous of reaching Ch'ang-an; but because of the great importance of his undertaking he accordingly proceeded south to the capital (Nanking) and handed over to the ecclesiastics there the Sûtras and the Disciplines he had collected.

Fa-hsien spent six years in travelling from Ch'ang-an to Central India; he stayed there six years, and it took him three more to reach Ch'ing-chou. The countries he passed through amounted to rather fewer than thirty. From the Sandy Desert westwards all the way to India, the dignified deportment of the priesthood and the good influence of the Faith were beyond all expression in detail. As, however, the ecclesiastics at home had had no means of hearing about these things, Fa-hsien had given no thought to his own unimportant life, but came home across the sea, encountering still more difficulties and dangers. Happily, he was accorded protection by the divine majesty of the Precious Trinity, and was thus preserved in the hour of danger. Therefore he wrote down on bamboo tablets and silk an account of what he had been through, desiring that the gentle reader should share this information.

NOTE

BY AN ANONYMOUS WRITER OF THE E. CHIN DYNASTY A.D. 317–420

IT was in the cyclical year *chia-yin* (A.D. 414), the twelfth (should be tenth) of the period I-hsi (405–419), when the year-star (Jupiter) was in Virgo-Libra, at the close of the summer retreat, that I went out to meet the Buddhist, Fa-hsien; and when he arrived, I kept him with me in my winter apartment. At the opportunities we had for meeting and discussion, I questioned him again and again on his travels; and to all my queries he replied affably and without hesitation and in accordance with truth. I therefore urged him to write out in detail that which so far he had merely sketched, and he retold the whole story from beginning to end.

He said,

Looking back upon what I went through, my heart throbs involuntarily and sweat pours down. That in the dangers which I encountered whether riding or on foot, I did not spare my body, was because I kept my object steadily in view and concentrated upon it a simple honesty of purpose. And so I could risk my life in places where there was no certainty of escape, in order to accomplish even a minute fraction of what I had hoped for.

I was much affected by his words, and sighing said to myself, "This kind of man has been rare in all ages. From the time that the Great Religion began to flow eastwards, there has been no one forgetful of his life in the cause of the Faith to be compared with Fa-hsien."

Thus I came to know that there are no obstacles, however numerous, which the power of sincerity will not break through, and no meritorious services which the stimulus of determination will not achieve. And the man who brings his labours to a successful issue—is he not one who neglects the things which are generally prized and prizes the things which are generally forgotten?

NOTE

BY SHÊN SHIH-LUNG

[Not identified]

AS regards records of the bringing back of Sacred Books from India, we have only the narratives of the two priests Fa-hsien and Hsüan-tsang in the Tripitaka, and the accounts of Sung-yün and Hui-shêng in the Record of the Lo-yang Monastery which have a claim upon our attention. Yet although the Record of the Monastery is exact and agreeably written, the narratives in the Tripitaka go more into detail and are more elegant in style. Pre-eminently is this true of the Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms, which in general scope, elegance, terseness, and comprehensiveness, is not inferior to the best models of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 265–420).

These travels, however, differ somewhat as to the places visited. Fa-hsien went westwards by way of Tun-huang, and returned by sea from Ceylon. The predicant, Hsüan-tsang, left Liang-chou by the Jade Gate (Sha-chou in Kansuh) and came back by way of Khotan. Sung-yün left by way of the Red Mountain (west of Hsi-ning Fu, forty days' march from Lo-yang), reached the Tu-yü-han (on the shores of Lake Kokonor) and came back by the same way. Thus

they exemplify the apophthegm of Shâkyamuni that "WAYS are many; they cannot all be enumerated."

With regard to the Desert of Gobi, the Bolor-Tagh Range, the Hsüan-tu Mountains (with suspension bridges), and the Snowy Mountains, these were visited by all alike. Further, with regard to the passage in Mr Lü's "Notes," giving a quotation from *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* as found in the commentary to the *Water Classic*, namely that "the Ganges flows south-east, passing through the city of Kusinagara, and that to the north of the city between two trees, etc.," I have been unable to find these words in the original text. They have probably been omitted in the process of copying, and Hsü-yüan-mêng (1650–1736) has undoubtedly grounds for what he says.

Ever since I tied up my hair in a knot, I have always felt a deep veneration for the Gospel of Mercy, though myself grovelling in the dust and abominations of the world; and though neither my teachers nor my friends have ever crossed rivers and mountains and I myself have been loath to leave home, yet whenever I hear of others risking their lives in dangerous circumstances or seeking the Truth in dark and distant spots, I feel what a dull useless creature I am, and my tears begin to flow.

Done at Hsiu-shui, by Shên Shih-lung.

NOTE

BY HU CHÊN-HÊNG

[A distinguished scholar of the Ming dynasty, 1368–1644]

THE old title of this work was *The Narrative of Fa-hsien*, but according to a note by a Buddhist priest of the Sung dynasty (A.D. 420–479), it should be called *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Such a work as the latter, in one volume, occurs only in the geographical section of the History of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 581–618), so that the above statement does not appear to have sufficient foundation.

There were originally two *Narratives of Fa-hsien*, the first of which, in two parts, has been lost, and the second, in one volume, is the work we have now. At the end of the narrative a man of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 317–420) added these words: "I therefore urged him to write out in detail that which so far he had merely sketched, and he retold the whole story from beginning to end." This must have been the single volume, which was afterwards expanded into a more detailed account in two volumes, but never became popular in that form and disappeared.

A Buddhist priest of the Liang dynasty (A.D. 502–557), named Hui-chiao, states that there was another and more extensive *Narrative* of

the travels of Fa-hsien in the various countries, which should be called, by way of distinction, *The Greater Narrative of Fa-hsien*.

With regard to the text of the *Record*, there are certain points which deserve attention. For instance, "the second year of the period Hung-shih (A.D. 400)" is, according to Yao Hsing's chronology, the fourth year of the Lung-an period (A.D. 400) in the reign of the Emperor An Ti of the Chin dynasty.

Again, "the Ch'ien Kuei nation" is Ch'i-fu Ch'ien Kuei's capital; namely, Yüan-ch'uan.

Similarly, the "prince of Chang-yeh" was Tuan Yeh, prince of the N. Liang State (who died A.D. 401).

And the "Governor of Tun-huang, named Li Hao," was Li Kao, prince of Liang, canonized as Wu Chao (died A.D. 417). In the third month of the above year (399–400), he was ordered by Tuan Yeh to take charge at Tun-huang; and as Fa-hsien spent his retreat at Chang-yeh before going on to Tun-huang, it is evident that he made a mistake in writing Hao, the fact that the two words are pronounced alike being the reason for his orthographical blunder (*e.g.* Stewart for Stuart).

So with his "Kingdom of Nou T'an"; for in the year when he passed through, Li-lu-ku, the Bald, had but just usurped the throne, and did not die until two years later, when Nou T'an reigned in his stead. Thus he was wrong in

speaking of Nou T'an, probably because his memory failed him when he subsequently wrote his narrative.

Further, the Shamans who started with him from Ch'ang-an were Hui-ching, Tao-chêng, Hui-ying, and Hui-wei; and those whom he met at Chang-yeh were Chih-yen, Hui-chien, Sêng-shao, Pao-yün, and Sêng-ching, making nine in all. When they arrived at the land of Kara-shahr, Chih-yen, Hui-chien, and Hui-wei, went back towards Turfan; and when the others reached the Wang-hsin Monastery in Khotan, Sêng-shao left them and went on to Kapanî (Kâshmir). Then again at Peshâwur, Hui-ta, with Pao-yün and Sêng-ching, turned back to China, and Hui-ching died at the monastery of Buddha's alms-bowl; so that the individuals meant in the passage "Fa-hsien and the others, three in all, went south and crossed the lesser Snowy Mountains," must be Tao-chêng and Hui-ying. How then do we find again, "Hui-ching was unable to go on"? The collection of Ecclesiastical Biographies of the Liang dynasty, founded by Hsiao Yen (A.D. 502), also gives Hui-ching, which should be Hui-ying—a mistake which has been made ever since the division between North and South. Tao-chêng remained finally in India; but Hui-ta's name does not occur among the nine. Was he then "travelling with them by a different road"?

Done at Wu-yüan, by Hu Chên-hêng.

FROM

THE DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE IMPERIAL LIBRARY, PUBLISHED 1795

THE *Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*, in a single part, was composed by Shih Fa-hsien of the Liu Sung dynasty. Tu Yu in his *T'ung tien* quotes this work but makes the author Fa-ming. He did so because the character *hsien* had been appropriated by the Emperor Chung Tsung (and was therefore taboo), and men of the T'ang dynasty had substituted *ming*. For this reason there occur in the original commentary the four words "changed because Imperially appropriated."

Fa-hsien started from Ch'ang-an and travelled to India, passing through more than thirty countries, and returning during the I-hsi period of the Chin dynasty (A.D. 405–419). On arriving at the capital, he and an Indian priest of the Meditative School put this book together between them. Hu Chên-hêng had it cut on blocks and entered in his private catalogue, naming it on the cover by its old title—*Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Yet in his note at the end he says that it ought to be called *The Narrative of Fa-hsien*.

Now in Li Tao-yüan's commentary on the *Water Classic* where he quotes "Keeping to the range, the party journeyed for fifteen days in a south-westerly direction," and so on, eighty-nine words in all; and where he quotes "On the upper Ganges there was a king," and so on, two hundred and seventy-six words in all—in both cases he speaks of *The Narrative of Fa-hsien.* Chên-hêng's statement is therefore not without authority.

In *The Miscellaneous Records of the Sui Dynasty* there is an entry of *The Narrative of Fa-hsien* in two rolls, and of *The Itinerary of Fa-hsien* in one part, the authors' names not being given; and in *The Geographical Section* is mentioned *The Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* in one roll, with a note saying that it was composed by the Shaman, Shih Fa-hsien. Thus we have two distinct entries in one work and three separate names, so that it is not necessary to change the title to *The Narrative of Fa-hsien.*

In this book we find India regarded as the Middle Kingdom, and China as a frontier country. This is because the ecclesiastics wish to do honour to their religion and is a braggart fiction which is not worth discussing.

Again, Yü-t'ien or Ho-t'ien (Khotan), as it is now called, has been from time immemorial devoted to Mahometanism, as is amply borne out by *Illustrated Notices of Western Countries,*

printed by Imperial authority. Yet Fa-hsien informs us that there were there fourteen Buddhist monasteries and several tens of thousands of priests, a statement which we need not accept as literally true. Nevertheless, the old Buddhistic records have stood the test of time; and as they are written in an antique and elegant style, unequalled by later writers of travel, there is no reason why they should not be preserved to extend the stock of information on marvellous subjects.

In Fa-hsien's work we have "the third year of the *Hung-shih* period, being the cyclical year *chi hai*." In the history of the Chin dynasty, under Yao Ch'ang, the second year of *Hung-shih* corresponds with the fourth year of *Lung-an* (A.D. 400), and should be the cyclical year *kêng tzŭ*. Fa-hsien's record is therefore one year wrong. On the other hand, the history of the Chin dynasty, speaking of Chao Shih-hu, says that the sixth year of *Chien-wu* corresponds with the fifth year of *Hsien-k'ang* (339), the cyclical characters being *chi hai*; but it is stated in the *Metal and Stone Inscriptions* that on the mortuary tablets of Chao Hêng-shan and Li Chün, as well as in the ancestral hall of Hsi-mên Pao, the sixth year of *Chien-wu* is made to correspond with the cyclical year *kêng tzŭ*. This is another mistake of a year. The reason is that at the above period various States were separated from and contending with one another,

and that the style of the reign was recklessly changed, sometimes annually, sometimes even oftener, without any fixed rule. Further, the North and South being divided, and events being reported in various ways, it is difficult to decide that history must necessarily be right and Fa-hsien wrong.

In the present edition, the original text is given word for word, in order to carry out the (Confucian) precept about "putting aside points of which we are in doubt."

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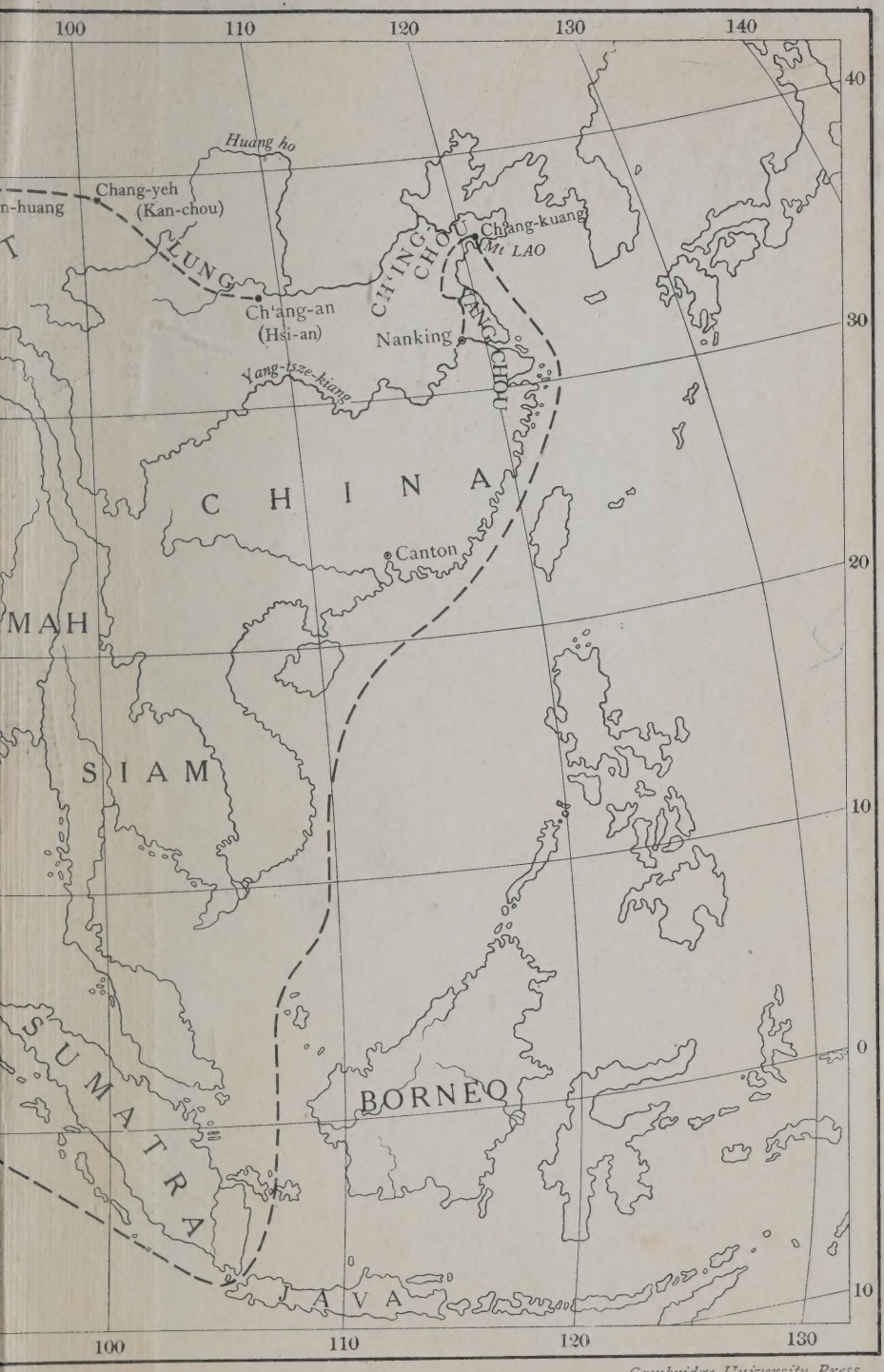

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